

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

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Art. I. *The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe: with his Letters and Journals, and his Life, by his Son.* In 8 vols. fcap. 8vo. Vols. I. and II. London, 1834.

CRABBE and Scott had each the rare good fortune to enjoy two distinct leases of reputation in their life-time. But there was this difference between them. Sir Walter acquired his reputation in two distinct characters; and his poetical fame was on the wane, when he commenced his brilliant and successful career as the anonymous Author of *Waverley*. Crabbe came before the public only as the poet; and as such, he received the plaudits of two distinct contemporary generations; first, as the young friend and *protégé* of Burke and Johnson, and then, on his re-appearance as from the dead, as the author of "*The Parish Register*." "*The Village*" was first published in 1783; "*The Parish Register*", in 1807, four and twenty years after! The public taste had in the interim undergone considerable changes; old favourites had been deserted for new ones; Cowper had been succeeded by the Lake School; and the veteran Bard re-appeared in the midst of many powerful younger competitors. Yet, room was made for him to advance and take his proper station among English poets, almost as readily and reverently as although Goldsmith or Collins had re-appeared in his proper person. Criticism indeed found employment in the characteristic blemishes of his poetry, in which beauties and defects are so nicely balanced, or so singularly intertwined, that, in each successive publication, both were considered as being more strongly marked. There was more vigour with more mannerism. Upon this circumstance, his Biographer offers a just remark. Speaking of the opinion of the critics respecting "*The Borough*", that it had 'greater beauties and greater defects' than its predecessor, "*The Parish Register*", he says: 'With such a decision an author may always be well pleased; for he is sure to take his rank with posterity by his beauties: defects, where there are great and

'real excellencies, serve but to fill critical dissertations.' There are beauties enough in Crabbe's poetry to embalm all its defects, (like the insects which share the honours of mummification,)—beauties enough to ensure its continuing to form part and parcel of English literature, as long as the dialect of Englishmen of the nineteenth century shall be a living tongue; which is duration long enough for any earthly immortality.

We have mentioned one circumstance in common between the literary careers of Crabbe and the great Wizard of the North. In a letter from the latter to his brother poet, which appears in the present volume, another singular coincidence is mentioned. 'It is curious enough', writes Scott, 'that you should have republished "*The Village*" for the purpose of sending your young men to college, and I should have written the "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*" for the purpose of buying a new horse for the Volunteer Cavalry.' Very different objects certainly; but it is curious, that to motives like these the public should be indebted for the choicest productions of genius. Johnson wrote *Rasselas* to obtain money to pay the expenses of his mother's funeral!

It is pleasing to find men of genius appreciating each other's merits with the cordiality displayed in Scott's Letter to Crabbe. Between these two poets, however, the points of contrast might seem to be far more prominent and striking than any coincidences in their pursuits and history. Of Crabbe, his Biographer reports, that he was remarkably indifferent to all the proper objects of taste.

'He had no real love for painting, or music, or architecture, or for what a painter's eye considers as the beauty of landscape. But he had a passion for science—the science of the human mind, first;—then, that of human nature in general; and, lastly, that of abstract quantities. His powerful intellect did not seem to require the ideas of sense to move it to enjoyment, but he could at all times find luxury in the most dry and forbidding calculations.'

Mr. Crabbe was devoted to botanical and entomological studies; and there was, indeed, scarcely a department of natural history, to which he did not, at some time or other, turn with peculiar ardour.

'But generally speaking,' continues his Biographer, 'I should be inclined to say, that those more usually considered as the least inviting had the highest attractions for him. In botany, grasses, the most useful, but the least ornamental, were his favourites; in minerals, the earths and sands; in entomology, the minuter insects. His devotion to these pursuits appeared to proceed purely from the love of science and the increase of knowledge. At all events, he never seemed to be captivated with the mere beauty of natural objects, or even to catch any taste for the arrangement of his own specimens. Within the house was a kind of scientific confusion: in the garden, the usual showy foreigners gave



place to the most scarce flowers, and especially to the rarer weeds of Britain; and these were scattered here and there only for preservation. In fact, he neither loved order for its own sake, nor had any very high opinion of that passion in others.' p. 164.

In this intellectual portrait, it might seem difficult to recognize the lineaments of the poetical character. A poet without a love of beauty, seems as great a solecism as a botanist without a love of arrangement; but Mr. Crabbe's character was composed of apparent incompatibilities. That he possessed a powerful imagination and susceptible fancy, is unquestionable; yet he seldom appears to delight in the imaginative. He was a lover of nature, but it was with the passion, not of the painter, but of the anatomist. He could recreate himself with abstract quantities, and yet find pleasure in grasses! He was a mathematician, and yet—wrote novels!

'During one or two of his winters in Suffolk, he gave most of his evening hours to the writing of *Novels*; and he brought no less than three such works to a conclusion. The first was entitled, "The Widow Grey;" but I recollect nothing of it, except that the principal character was a benevolent humorist, a Dr. Allison. The next was called, "Reginald Glanshaw, or the Man who commanded Success;" a portrait of an assuming, overbearing, ambitious mind, rendered interesting by some generous virtues, and gradually wearing down into idiotism. I cannot help thinking that this Glanshaw was drawn with very extraordinary power; but the story was not well managed in the detail. I forget the title of his third novel; but I clearly remember that it opened with a description of a wretched room similar to some that are presented in his poetry; and that, on my mother's telling him frankly, that she thought the effect very inferior to that of the corresponding pieces in verse, he paused in his reading, and, after some reflection, said, "Your remark is just." The result was, a leisurely examination of all these manuscript volumes, and another of those grand incinerations [cremations] which, at an earlier period, had been sport to his children. The prefaces and dedications to his poems have been commended for simple elegance of language; nor was it in point of diction, I believe, that his novels would have been found defective, but rather in that want of skill and taste for order and arrangement which I have before noticed as displayed even in his physiological pursuits.' p. 167.

One would like to have heard at least a chapter of one of these novels; but we admire the magnanimity, or, shall we say? the surgical coolness of determination, with which the author performed the crematory operation here described. It would be a subject for Wilkie,—Crabbe burning his novels. We have little doubt, however, that his wife was right, for two reasons: first, because, in such cases, intelligent women are the best critics, and she who could appreciate her husband's poetry must have been well qualified to estimate his success in prose composition: secondly, because we can easily conceive that Crabbe's favourite subjects, and

his mode of treating them, would have been almost intolerable in naked prose. In his poetry, he perpetually treads upon the borders of the unpleasing; sometimes, indeed, he oversteps them; still, the terseness of his couplets, the rough melody of his energetic versification, and the vivid touches of descriptive beauty and pathos which relieve his darkest pictures, render the predominant effect pleasing. The qualities which would inspire disgust, are neutralized or sheathed in those which waken the pleasurable emotions of taste. But the same terseness could not be transferred to prose composition: there, the author would be tempted, and in a manner necessitated, to dilate, until the minuteness and vividness of his description became tedious or repulsive, and the homeliness of his stories would be likely to degenerate, in narrative, into insipidity. The keen wit of Swift, the humour of Fielding, or the dramatic skill of Scott, could alone redeem such subjects, in plain prose, from utter disagreeableness. Crabbe has been happily styled, the 'Hogarth of song.' Like Hogarth, he triumphed by his genius in spite of his themes; but fancy Hogarth's subjects treated with inferior skill, truth, and purity of satire, and the effect would be not much unlike that of Crabbe's Registers vulgarized by translation into prosaic narrative.

We have spoken of the apparently incompatible elements which composed Mr. Crabbe's intellectual character. It was this singular combination, the result in part of the physical constitution of his mind, (surely hereditary talents and predilections warrant the use of such an expression,) in part of the shape and bias given to his mind by the circumstances of his early years, that stamped originality on his character as well as on his compositions. The rough etching we have traced by way of portrait, will serve as a frontispiece to a brief outline of the circumstances detailed in this extremely interesting piece of literary biography.

George Crabbe was born at Aldborough, in Suffolk, on Christmas eve, 1754. His grandfather was a burgess of that town, and collector of the Customs; and his father, after acting for many years as warehouse-keeper and deputy collector, rose to be collector of the salt-duties or salt-master. His mother is described as a woman of the most amiable disposition, mild, patient, affectionate, and deeply religious in her turn of mind. From her, Crabbe appears to have inherited all the kindly and softer attributes of his character. Was there ever an instance of an illustrious man who did not owe the best features of his mind to the example or the early instructions of his mother?

George Crabbe was the eldest of six children. His next brother, Robert, who was bred to the business of a glazier, is now living in retirement at Southwold. The third son entered the navy, became captain of a Liverpool slave-ship, and perished at sea, by an insurrection of the slaves! The fourth brother, Wil-



liam, also took to a sea-faring life; and his history, so far as known, afforded foundation for the story of Allen Booth in "The Parting Hour."

'Being made prisoner by the Spaniards, he was carried to Mexico, where he became a silversmith, married, and prospered, until his increasing riches attracted a charge of Protestantism\*; the consequence of which was much persecution. He at last was obliged to abandon Mexico, his property, and his family; and was discovered in the year 1803, by an Aldborough sailor, on the coast of Honduras, where again he seems to have found some success in business. This sailor was the only person he had seen for many a year who could tell him any thing of Aldborough and his family; and great was his perplexity when he was informed that his eldest brother, George, was a clergyman. "This cannot be *our* George", said the Wanderer—"he was a *doctor*!" This was the first, and it was also the last tidings that ever reached my father of his brother William.' p. 6.

The other two children were daughters: one died in infancy; the other became the wife of a builder in her native town, where she died in 1827. The elder girl was the favourite of her father. He was passionately devoted to her; and her untimely death, we are told, 'drew from him those gloomy and savage tokens of misery, which haunted, fifty years after, the memory of his 'gentler son'. Grief, in some stubborn and inflexible natures, puts on a frightful form of savage moroseness, and, instead of softening the heart, hardens it, partaking less of tenderness than of anger; and sometimes it seems as if the strength of the affections, morbidly concentrated upon one object, and that object rendered still dearer by suffering or peril, is exhausted and destroyed by the violence of the emotion occasioned by bereavement. Something of this kind would appear to have taken place in the mind of Crabbe's father, whose 'imperious temper and violent passions' thenceforward displayed themselves with less restraint. Altogether, the family story has a tragic cast, which harmonizes with the sombre character of Crabbe's poetry. The scenes of his early years were not adapted to minister either to cheerful or to poetic feelings. The house in which he was born and passed his boyhood, was an old house in a range of buildings

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\* "Whilst I was poor", said Allen, "none would care  
What my poor notions of religion were;  
I preached no foreign doctrine to my wife,  
And never mentioned Luther in my life;  
Their forms I followed, whether well or sick,  
And was a most obedient Catholic.  
But I had money, and those pastors found  
My notions vague, heretical, unsound."



which the encroaching sea has now almost demolished. The chambers projected far over the ground floor; and the small windows with diamond panes, were almost impervious to the light. The surrounding scenery is thus graphically described by his Biographer.

‘Aldborough was, in those days, a poor and wretched place, with nothing of the elegance and gayety which have since sprung up about it, in consequence of the resort of watering parties. The town lies between a low hill or cliff, on which only the old church and a few better houses were then situated, and the beach of the German Ocean. It consisted of two parallel and unpaved streets, running between mean and scrambling houses, the abodes of sea-faring men, pilots, and fishers. The range of houses nearest to the sea had suffered so much from repeated invasions of the waves, that only a few scattered tenements appeared erect among the desolation. I have often heard my father describe a tremendous spring tide of, I think, the 1st of January, 1779, when eleven houses here were at once demolished; and he saw the breakers dash over the roofs, curl round the walls, and crush all to ruin. The beach consists of successive ridges—large rolled stones, then loose shingle, and, at the fall of the tide, a stripe of fine hard sand. Vessels of all sorts, from the large heavy troll-boat to the yawl and prame, drawn up along the shore—fishermen preparing their tackle, or sorting their spoil—and, nearer the gloomy old town hall, (the only indication of municipal dignity,) a few groupings of mariners, chiefly pilots, taking their quick, short walk backwards and forwards, every eye watchful of a signal from the offing—such was the squalid scene that first opened on the Author of “The Village”.’

‘Nor was the landscape in the vicinity of a more engaging aspect:—open commons and sterile farms, the soil poor and sandy, the herbage bare and rushy, the trees “few and far between”, and withered and stunted by the bleak breezes of the sea. The opening picture of “The Village” was copied, in every touch, from the scene of the Poet’s nativity and boyish days:—

“Lo! where the heath, with withering brake grown o’er,  
Lends the light turf that warms the neighbouring poor;  
From thence a length of burning sand appears,  
Where the thin harvest waves its withered ears;  
Rank weeds, that every art and care defy,  
Reign o’er the land, and rob the blighted rye;  
There thistles spread their prickly arms afar,  
And to the ragged infants threaten war.”

‘The “broad river,” called the Ald, approaches the sea close to Aldborough, within a few hundred yards, and then, turning abruptly, continues to run for about ten miles parallel to the beach,—from which, for the most part, a dreary stripe of marsh and waste alone divides it,—until it at length finds its embouchure at Orford. The scenery of this river has been celebrated as lovely and delightful in a poem called “Slaughden Vale,” written by Mr. James Bird, a friend

of my father's; and old Camden talks of "the beautiful vale of Slaughden." I confess, however, that, though I have ever found an indescribable charm in the very weeds of the place, I never could perceive its claims to beauty. Such as it is, it has furnished Mr. Crabbe with many of his happiest and most graphical descriptions; and the same may be said of the whole line of coast from Orford to Dunwich, every feature of which has somewhere or other been reproduced in his writings. The quay of Slaughden, in particular, has been painted with all the minuteness of a Dutch landscape:—

"Here samphire banks and saltwort bound the flood,  
There stakes and sea-weeds withering on the mud;  
And higher up, a ridge of all things base,  
Which some strong tide has rolled upon the place . . . .  
Yon is our quay! those smaller boys from town,  
Its various wares for country use bring down." &c. &c.

'The powerful effect with which Mr. Crabbe has depicted the ocean itself, both in its calm and its tempestuous aspects, may lead many to infer that, had he been born and educated in a region of mountains and forests, he might have represented them also as happily as he has done the slimy marshes and withered commons of the coast of Suffolk: but it is certain that he visited, and even resided in, some of the finest parts of our island in after-life, without appearing to take much delight in the grander features of inland scenery; and it may be doubted whether, under any circumstances, his mind would ever have found much of the excitement of delight elsewhere than in the study of human beings. And certainly, for one destined to distinction as a portrayer of character, few scenes could have been more favourable than that of his infancy and boyhood. He was cradled among the rough sons of the ocean,—a daily witness of unbridled passions, and of manners remote from the sameness and artificial smoothness of polished society. At home, as has already been hinted, he was subject to the caprices of a stern and imperious, though not unkindly nature; and, probably, few whom he could familiarly approach, but had passed through some of those dark domestic tragedies in which his future strength was to be exhibited. The common people of Aldborough in those days are described as—

— "a wild, amphibious race,  
With sullen woe display'd in every face;  
Who far from civil arts and social fly,  
And scowl at strangers with suspicious eye."

'Nor, although the family in which he was born happened to be somewhat above the mass in point of situation, was the remove so great as to be marked with any considerable difference in point of refinement. Masculine and robust frames, rude manners, stormy passions, laborious days, and, occasionally boisterous nights of merriment,—among such accompaniments was born and reared the Poet of the Poor.' pp. 9—12.

In what soil will not the seeds of genius germinate? It will



draw its nourishment, like the lichen, from the bare rock, and flourish, like the palm of the desert, where all around is an arid waste. But how came genius to spring up, like a chance-sown seed wafted by the winds from other climes, in this individual instance? How shall we account for its originating in the person of the Salt-master's son? From whom did he inherit it, or how came it to be developed under circumstances so ungenial? These are questions which we leave those to resolve, who deny that there is a mystery and a sovereignty in the dispensation of those mental endowments which distinguish one individual from another, independently of all the modifying effects of early circumstance and education. If Crabbe inherited genius from either parent, it must have been, apparently, from his mother. His father seems, indeed, to have been a man of robust mind, not without some relish for literature. He had been, in early life, the keeper of a parochial school in the porch of the church at Orford; and subsequently united the humble offices of school-master and parish clerk at the village of Norton near Loddon. He used occasionally to read aloud to his family, in the evenings, passages from Milton, Young, or some other of our graver classics, with (as his son thought long afterwards) remarkable judgement and powerful effect. But his chosen intellectual pursuit was mathematical calculation; and with these tastes, he mingled not a little of the sea-faring habits and propensities of the place.

'The Salt-master often took his boys a-fishing with him; and sorely was his patience tried with the awkwardness of the eldest. "That boy," he would say, "must be a *fool*. John, and Bob, and Will are all of some use about a boat; but what will that *thing* ever be good for?" This, however, was only the passion of the moment; for Mr. Crabbe perceived early the natural talents of his eldest son, and, as that son ever gratefully remembered, was at more expense with his education than his worldly circumstances could well afford.

'My father was, indeed, in a great measure, self-educated. After he could read at all—and he was a great favourite with the old dame who taught him—he was unwearied in reading; and he devoured, without restraint, whatever came into his hands, but especially works of fiction—those little stories and ballads about ghosts, witches, and fairies, *which were then almost exclusively the literature of youth*, and which, whatever else might be thought of them, served, no doubt, to strike out the first sparks of imagination in the mind of many a youthful poet. Mr. Crabbe retained, to the close of life, a strong partiality for marvellous tales of even this humble class. In verse he delighted, from the earliest time that he could read. His father took in a periodical work, called "Martin's Philosophical Magazine," which contained, at the end of each number, a sheet of "occasional poetry." The salt-master irreverently cut out these sheets, when he sent his magazines to be bound up at the end of the year; and the "Poet's Corner" became the property of George, who read its contents until



he had most of them by heart. The boy ere long tried to imitate the pieces which he thus studied.' pp. 14, 15.

This is the usual process through which thousands pass in their intellectual development, up to a certain point, but there they stop. Some fail in imitating what has inspired them with delight; others never get beyond imitation; only the few possess the finer organization which is requisite to re-produce in other forms what the mind has made its own. The poetry which struck and delighted Crabbe's childish fancy was, for the most part, of the humblest description; and how often, in after life, the man inspects with incredulous astonishment, the trash which the child devoured with a vividness of delight never afterwards to be derived from the finest productions of genius! But so it is, that the power of poetry to please and excite, depends far less upon its intrinsic qualities than upon the poetical susceptibility of the reader. Nay, the rudest productions vie in this respect, in their power of exciting a susceptible imagination, with the most finished works of art; just as the statue which wakens the raptures of the connoisseur, is found to yield in potency of effect and sanctity, to the consecrated daub or ill-carved block which attracts thousands of pilgrim worshippers.

Observing the bookish turn of his son, the Salt-master resolved to give him the advantage of passing some time in a school at Bungay; from which, in his eleventh or twelfth year, he was removed to one of somewhat superior character at Stowmarket, kept by Mr. Haddon, a skilful mathematician. Here, inheriting his father's talent and predilection for mathematical science, George made considerable progress in such pursuits. The Salt-master used often to send difficult questions to Mr. Haddon, and, to his great delight, the solution came not unfrequently from his son. Here, also, he laid the foundations of a fair classical education. Some girls used to come to the school in the evenings to learn writing; and 'the tradition is, that Mr. Crabbe's first essay 'in verse was a stanza of doggerel, cautioning one of these little 'damsels against being too much elevated about a new set of blue 'ribands to her straw bonnet.'

It had now been determined that George should be bred to the medical profession; but some time elapsed, after his leaving school, before a situation as surgeon's apprentice could be found for him. The manner in which this interval was passed, is described by his own pen in the following beautiful lines of his "Richard."

——— 'I to the ocean gave  
My mind, and thoughts as restless as the wave.  
Where crowds assembled I was sure to run,  
Hear what was said, and muse on what was done.

To me the wives of seamen loved to tell  
 What storms endangered men esteemed so well.  
 No ships were wrecked upon that fatal beach,  
 But I could give the luckless tale of each.  
 In fact, I lived for many an idle year  
 In fond pursuit of agitations dear.  
 For ever seeking, ever pleased to find  
 The food I sought, I thought not of its kind.

‘ I loved to walk where none had walked before,  
 About the rocks that ran along the shore ;  
 Or far beyond the sight of man to stray,  
 And take my pleasure when I lost my way :  
 For then ’twas mine to trace the hilly heath,  
 And all the mossy moor that lies beneath.  
 Here had I favourite stations, where I stood  
 And heard the murmurs of the ocean flood,  
 With not a sound beside, except when flew  
 Aloft the lapwing, or the grey curlew . . . .  
 When I no more my fancy could employ,  
 I left in haste what I could not enjoy,  
 And was my gentle mother’s welcome boy.’

All his hours were not spent, however, in so agreeable a manner. His father employed him in the warehouse on the quay at Slaughden, in labours which he abhorred, such as piling up butter and cheese; and long afterwards, he confessed that ‘ he remembered with regret the fretfulness and indignation wherewith he submitted to these drudgeries, in which the Salt-master himself often shared.’ But not ‘ many an idle year’—not many months could have passed in this alternation of ignoble drudgery and luxurious idleness, since he was only in his fourteenth year when, in 1768, he was placed as an apprentice with a medical practitioner at Wickham Brook. Here he was subjected to new hardships, being often employed by his master, who had more occupations than one, in the drudgery of the farm, and made the bed-fellow and companion of the plough-boy. ‘ How astonished would he have been,’ remarks his Son, ‘ when carrying medicines on foot to Cheveley, (a village at a considerable distance,) could he have foreseen that, in a very few years, he should take his daily station in that same place at a duke’s table !’

Whether Crabbe’s father complained of ‘ the large portion of agricultural tuition he received gratis,’ his Biographer is unable to inform us; but it is rendered probable by the removal of George, in 1771, to a more eligible situation; and he concluded his apprenticeship with Mr. Page, a surgeon at Woodbridge. He there met with companions more to his taste; and although he never became fond of the profession to which he was destined, he now began to apply to it in earnest. Poetry, however, disputed



with medicine the possession of his heart. Before he quitted Wickham Brook, he had filled a drawer with verses; and at Woodbridge, he not only wrote odes in the style of Cowley, imitations of Spenser and Raleigh, and a profusion of lyrics to Mira, but found courage and means to print and publish at Ipswich, a short satirical piece entitled, "Inebriety, a Poem, in three Parts." Price, one shilling and sixpence. Under the name of Mira, it pleased him to celebrate Miss Sarah Elmy, a young lady domesticated in the village of Parham, near Framlingham, under the roof of her uncle, Mr. Tovell, to whom he had gained introduction under the following circumstances. A young surgeon at Woodbridge, who was paying his addresses to a friend of Miss Elmy's, one day said carelessly to Crabbe: "George, you shall go with me to Parham; there is a young lady there that would just suit you." Accordingly, Crabbe accompanied his friend on his next 'lover's journey,' was introduced to the two ladies, and 'spent in their society a day which decided his matrimonial lot in life.' He was then in his eighteenth year, the very age of poetry and love; and his Mira, by her approbation of his verses, encouraged him in both.

About the end of 1775, having completed his term of apprenticeship, Crabbe returned to Aldborough, hoping to find the means of repairing to the metropolis, to complete his professional education. But the Salt-master's affairs were not in a sufficiently prosperous state to enable him to gratify his son's inclination in this respect; and the young man, now accustomed to far different pursuits and habits, was arbitrarily required to resume the labours of the warehouse on Slaughden Quay. This led, as might be expected, to violent quarrels between him and his father, whose habits had undergone, during his son's absence from home, an unhappy deterioration. His meek-spirited wife, in declining health, pined under the loss of domestic comfort; and George was the chief support, the physician and dutiful comforter of his afflicted mother. At length, his father made an effort to send him to London; and George embarked in one of the trading sloops, ostensibly to walk the hospitals, but with a purse too slenderly provided to enable him to go through the customary course. After residing in London for eight or ten months, his small resources were exhausted, and he was compelled to return to Suffolk, his scanty stock of professional knowledge not much increased by the desultory instruction that had alone been within his reach. He now engaged himself as an assistant in the shop of a Mr. Maskill, who had recently commenced practice at Aldborough; a stern, imperious man, who assumed an authority which his assistant could ill brook. Yet, conscious how imperfectly he was grounded in the commonest details of his profession, Crabbe felt himself obliged to submit in



silence to a new series of galling vexations. 'Nor was his situation at all improved, when, at the end of some miserable months, Mr. Maskill transferred his practice to another town, and he was encouraged to set up for himself at Aldborough.' We must again employ, in continuation, the language of his Biographer.

'He dearly loved liberty, and he was now his own master; and, above all, he could now more frequently visit Miss Elmy, at Parham. But the sense of a new responsibility pressed sorely and continually upon his mind; and he never awoke without shuddering at the thought, that some operation of real difficulty might be thrown in his way before night. Ready sharpness of mind and mechanical cleverness of hand are the first essentials in a surgeon; and he wanted them both, and knew his deficiencies far better than any one else did. He had, moreover, a clever and active opponent in the late Mr. Raymond; and the practice which fell to his share was the poorest the place afforded. His very passion for botany was injurious to him; for his ignorant patients, seeing him return from his walks with handfuls of weeds, decided that, as Dr. Crabbe got his medicines in the ditches, he could have little claim for payment. On the other hand, he had many poor relations; and some of these, old women, were daily visitors, to request "something comfortable from Cousin George"; that is to say, doses of the most expensive tonics he had in his possession. Add to all this, that the poor leech was a lover, separated from his mistress, and that his heart was in the land of imagination—for he had now resumed his pen—and it is not wonderful that he soon began to despair altogether of succeeding in his profession.' pp. 33, 4.

Yet, there was a short gleam of smiling fortune. In the summer of 1778, the Warwickshire militia were quartered at Aldborough, and his professional emoluments were considerably improved in consequence. He had also the pleasure of finding his society highly estimated by the officers. The following winter, the Warwick militia were replaced by the Norfolk; and Mr. Crabbe had the good fortune to be for a time their medical attendant also. But the consciousness of deficient qualification for his profession, together with the small chance of his obtaining a competent livelihood at Aldborough, led him finally to resolve on abandoning medicine and his native town for pursuits still more precarious, and prospects only less gloomy because more uncertain; for, with uncertainty, hope is always blended.

'He deliberated often and long,—“resolved and re-resolved,”—and again doubted; but, well aware as he was of the hazard he was about to encounter, he at last made up his mind. One gloomy day, towards the close of the year 1779, he had strolled to a bleak and cheerless part of the cliff above Aldborough, called “the Marsh Hill,” brooding, as he went, over the humiliating necessities of his condition, and plucking every now and then, I have no doubt, the hundredth speci-

men of some common weed. He stopped opposite a shallow, muddy piece of water, as desolate and gloomy as his own mind, called the Leech-pond; and "it was while I gazed on it,"—he said to my brother and me, one happy morning,—"that I determined to go to London, and venture all."

'When his father was at length informed that he felt it to be of no use to struggle longer against the difficulties of his situation, the old man severely reproached him with the expenses the family had incurred, in order to afford him an opening into a walk of life higher than their own. But when he, in return, candidly explained how imperfectly he had ever been prepared for the exercise of his profession, the Salt-master in part admitted the validity of his representation, and no further opposed his resolution.

'But the means of carrying this resolution into effect, were still to seek. His friends were all as poor as himself; and he knew not where to apply for assistance. In this dilemma, he at length addressed a letter to the late Mr. Dudley North, brother to the candidate for Aldborough, requesting the loan of a small sum; "and a very extraordinary letter it was," said Mr. North to his petitioner some years afterwards. "I did not hesitate for a moment." The sum advanced by Mr. North, in compliance with his request, was *five pounds*; and, after settling his affairs at Aldborough, and embarking himself and his whole worldly substance on board a sloop at Slaughden, to seek his fortune in the Great City, he found himself master of a box of clothes, a small case of surgical instruments, and three pounds in money. During the voyage, he lived with the sailors of the vessel, and partook of their fare.' pp. 42—45.

Mr. Crabbe always maintained, that it was necessity that drove him to be an author; an assertion in which his son could never, he says, coincide. But can it be alleged, that his love of literature seduced him from his proper path, or was the cause of his want of success in his profession? Surely not. Although the medical profession might not have been in all respects the best suited to his taste and habits, yet, had he been enabled to complete a proper course of study, there is no reason to doubt that he would have attained to a degree of proficiency which would have inspired him with self-confidence, have overcome his natural distaste, and commanded a respectable degree of success. But no man can take complacency in a species of employment for which he feels never to have been allowed the means and opportunity of becoming qualified, and in which success is denied to him by circumstances beyond his control. Crabbe was thrown upon literature, first as a solace, but at last as his only resource. With more knowledge of the world, he would have seen it to be a desperate one; and, could he have foreseen all the sorrows and disappointments that awaited the literary adventurer, he would either, as his Biographer remarks, have remained in his native place, or, if he had gone to London at all, engaged himself to beat the mortar in some dispensary. 'Happily, his hopes ulti-



‘mately prevailed over his fears. His Sarah cheered him by her approbation of his bold adventure; and his mind soared and exulted, when he suddenly felt himself freed from the drudgery and anxieties of his hated profession.’

The attachment which he had formed to Miss Elmy, appears to have had the happiest influence in fixing his principles, and in sustaining his mind under depressing circumstances. Mr. Crabbe had imbibed early religious impressions from the precepts and example of his pious mother; and the seriousness and purity of these impressions, though smothered for a season, were never obliterated. But they did not altogether preserve him, we are told, from the snares that beset with peculiar strength young men early removed from the paternal roof. The following lines, taken from one of his early note-books, ascribe to his acquaintance with his Mira, the first check to the thoughtless career of folly upon which he was entering; and affliction fixed the convictions which friendship had awakened.

Aldborough, 1777.

‘A wanton chaos in my breast raged high,  
A wanton transport darted in mine eye;  
False pleasure urged, and every eager care  
That swell the soul to guilt and to despair.  
My Mira came! be ever blest the hour  
That drew my thoughts half way from folly’s power!  
She first my soul with loftier notions fired;  
I saw their truth, and as I saw admired.  
With greater force returning reason moved,  
And, as returning reason urged, I loved;  
Till pain, reflection, hope, and love allied  
My bliss precarious to a surer guide—  
To Him who gives pain, reason, hope, and love,  
Each for that end that angels must approve.  
One beam of light He gave my mind to see,  
And gave that light, my heavenly fair, by thee.  
That beam shall raise my thoughts, and mend my strain,  
Nor shall my vows, nor prayers, nor verse be vain.’

Vol. II. p. 308.

We have transcribed these verses, not as possessing any superlative poetical merit, but as being evidently the record of real feelings, and serving to illustrate the moral history of the Writer. A severe illness which befel him not long after he had commenced practice as a surgeon at Aldborough, and to which these lines apparently allude, is represented by his Biographer to have had a powerful effect in reviving and confirming his early religious impressions, so as to produce ‘a strong and a permanent change.’ It was not, then, without compass or pole-star that the young adventurer launched his frail bark upon the ocean of society. If his religious knowledge was imperfect, his principles



had become sufficiently fixed to arm him against the temptations that beset a youth on plunging into the vortex of the metropolis, and to sustain his confidence in Divine Providence amid circumstances adapted to produce a despondency under which others have sunk. In one of his early note-books, under the date of Dec. 31, 1779, is found the following entry.

‘A thousand years, most adored Creator, are, in thy sight, as one day. So contract, in my sight, my calamities!’

‘The year of sorrow and care, of poverty and disgrace, of disappointment and wrong, is now passing on to join the Eternal. Now, O Lord! let, I beseech thee, my afflictions and prayers be remembered;—let my faults and follies be forgotten!’

‘O Thou who art the fountain of Happiness, give me better submission to thy decrees; better disposition to correct my flattering hopes; better courage to bear up under my state of depression.’

‘The year past, O my God! let it not be to me again a torment—the year coming, if it is thy will, be it never such. Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt. Whether I live, or whether I die, whether I be poor or whether I be prosperous, O my Saviour! may I be thine! Amen.’ Vol. I. pp. 42, 3.

Still more striking is the devout spirit exhibited in some private Prayers and Meditations written during his residence in the metropolis, from which some extracts are given. We cannot refrain from transcribing a specimen.

‘Amid the errors of the best, how shall my soul find safety? Even by thee, O Lord! Where is unlettered Hope to cast her anchor? Even in thy blessed Gospel! Serious examination, deep humility, earnest prayer, will obtain certainty.’

‘God is good. Christ is our only Mediator and Advocate. He suffered for our sins. By his stripes we are healed. As in Adam all die, so in Christ all are made alive. Whoso believeth shall be saved. But faith without works is dead. Yet it is the grace of God that worketh in us. Every good and every perfect work cometh from above. Man can do nothing of himself; but Christ is all in all; and, Whatsoever things ye shall ask in the name of Jesus shall be granted. This is sufficient; this is plain. I ask no philosophic researches, no learned definitions; I want not to dispute, but to be saved, Lord! save me, or I perish. I only know my own vileness; I only know thy sufficiency; these are enough; witness Heaven and Earth, my trust is in God’s mercy, through Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer. Amen!’ Vol. I. p. 88.

On his arrival in London, Mr. Crabbe took lodgings in the house of Mr. Vickery, a hair-dresser, near the Royal Exchange, where he sedulously applied himself to the pursuits for which he had sacrificed every other prospect. Mr. Vickery still survives, a respectable octogenarian, and ‘laments that his memory retains ‘little’ of his lodger, except that he was ‘a quiet, amiable, gen-

'teel young man, much esteemed by the family for the regularity of his conduct.' When he had completed some short pieces in verse, he offered them for publication, but they were rejected. He took more pains, tried new subjects, and, while preparing a more elaborate work, hazarded the publication of an anonymous performance, entitled, "The Candidate, a Poetical Epistle to the Authors of the Monthly Review". It was published in 4to (pp. 34), early in 1780, by H. Payne; and its Author 'had the satisfaction of hearing, in due time, that something (not much, indeed, but a something was much,) would arise from it; but, while he gathered encouragement, and looked forward to more than mere encouragement from this essay, the publisher failed, and his hope of profit was as transitory as the fame of his nameless production!' The failure of Mr. Payne plunged the young Poet into the utmost perplexity. He was absolutely under the necessity of seeking some pecuniary aid; and he was now driven to try the effect of applying to those who had the reputation of being liberal patrons of literature. He applied to Lord North, then premier,—in vain; to Lord Shelburne, with no better success; to Lord Chancellor Thurlow, and met with a cold repulse. His circumstances became fearfully critical; absolute want stared him in the face; and the best he could hope for, was, dismissing all his dreams of literary distinction, to find the means of earning his daily bread as a druggist's assistant. The struggles of hope and fear, the alternations of buoyant feeling and despondency, which he endured for the first three months of the miserable year that he spent in the city, are vividly painted in a journal which Mr. Crabbe kept during this distressing period for the perusal of his affianced wife. At one time, we find him confessing that, having got to the end of his money, he had pawned his watch, was in debt to his landlord, and was 'finally at some loss how to eat a week longer'. In another part of the journal, it is pleasing to find an abstract of a sermon preached by his 'favourite clergyman' at St. Dunstan's. It is evident that his mind derived strength and fortitude from his religious principles. Thrice repulsed as he had been in his applications to the great, he resolved, in the extremity of his distress, to make one effort more; and 'impelled by some propitious influence', in a happy moment, he fixed upon Edmund Burke.

'Mr. Burke was, at this period (1781), engaged in the hottest turmoils of parliamentary opposition, and his own pecuniary circumstances were by no means very affluent: yet, he gave instant attention to this letter and the verses which it enclosed. He immediately appointed an hour for my father to call upon him at his house in London; and the short interview that ensued, entirely and for ever changed the nature of his worldly fortunes. He was, in the common phrase, "a made man" from that hour. He went into Mr. Burke's room, a poor



young adventurer, spurned by the opulent, and rejected by the publishers, his last shilling gone, and all but his last hope with it: he came out virtually secure of almost all the good fortune that, in successive steps, afterwards fell to his lot,—his genius acknowledged by one whose verdict could not be questioned—his character and manners appreciated and approved by a noble and capacious heart, whose benevolence knew no limits but its power,—that of a giant in intellect, who was, in feeling, an unsophisticated child,—a bright example of the close affinity between superlative talents and the warmth of the generous affections. Mr. Crabbe had afterwards many other friends, kind, liberal, and powerful, who assisted him in his professional career; but it was one hand alone that rescued him when he was *sinking*.

pp. 93, 4.

It affords honourable evidence of Mr. Burke's penetration into character, not less than of his warm benevolence, that he formed so strong an interest in the welfare of the young poet as to invite him to take shelter under his own roof, where he treated him with the affection of a father, rather than the condescension of a patron. Under his auspices, "The Library" was selected from Mr. Crabbe's manuscripts, and published by Dodsley; and the success of that publication, which brought some reputation to the author, encouraged him to put forth his second poem, "The Village", which was partly written under the eye of his generous protector. At the seat of Mr. Burke, near Beaconsfield, Mr. Crabbe was supplied with books for his information and amusement, and treated as a member of the family. But the kindness of his Mecænas did not stop here. Having drawn from Mr. Crabbe, in the course of one of their walks, the avowal of a strong inclination to enter the church, Mr. Burke not only encouraged the idea, but exerted himself to procure the assent of the then Bishop of Norwich to his obtaining ordination; and in this, he was eventually successful. In the mean time, his *protégé* was introduced to the society of Mr. Fox, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, and other illustrious characters of the day; and the 'stern and formidable Thurlow' himself shewed an anxiety to atone for his previous neglect of the now rising young poet. At a time when his pecuniary means had been reduced to so low an ebb as to occasion him, amid all this honour, the most painful perplexity, Mr. Crabbe received a note from the Lord Chancellor, politely inviting him to breakfast. He was received with more than courtesy, and his Lordship condescended to say: 'The first poem you sent me, Sir, I ought to have noticed—and I heartily forgive the second': in this, the Poet had addressed to the Chancellor some strong, though not disrespectful lines, intimating that, in former times, the encouragement of literature had been considered as a duty appertaining to the illustrious station he held. At parting, Lord Thurlow put into Mr. Crabbe's hand a sealed paper, saying,

‘Accept this trifle, Sir, in the mean time, and rely on my embracing an early opportunity to serve you more substantially when I hear that you are in orders.’ On opening the letter, as soon as he had left the house, to his joyful surprise, he found it to contain a hundred-pound bank-note; a supply which effectually relieved him from all his present difficulties. The trait of character mentioned by his Biographer in connexion with this circumstance, must not be omitted.

‘I am enabled to state—though the information never came from my father—that the first use he made of this good fortune was, to seek out and relieve some objects of real indigence—poor scholars like himself, whom he had known when sharing their wretchedness in the city. And I must add, that, whenever he visited London in later years, he made it his business to inquire after similar objects of charity, supposed to be of respectable personal character, and to do by them as, in his own hour of distress, he would have been done by. . . . It was his first thought, on finding himself in possession of even a very slender fund, to testify his thankfulness to that Being who had rescued him from the extreme of destitution, and to begin as early as possible to pay the debt he owed to misfortune.’ p. 102.

Having passed a very creditable examination, Mr. Crabbe was admitted to deacon’s orders, in London, on the 21st of December, by the Bishop of Norwich; who ordained him a priest, in August of the year following, in his own cathedral. Being licensed as curate to the rector of Aldborough, he immediately bade a grateful adieu to his illustrious patron and his other eminent benefactors, and once more returned to his native place, with feelings which may easily be imagined. He had left it, a deserter from his profession, under the imputation of disgraceful failure, with the character of ‘a lubber’ and a visionary: he returned, a successful and patronised author, and a clergyman with every prospect of preferment.

‘His father had the candour to admit, that he had under-rated his poetical abilities, and that he had acted judiciously in trusting to the bent of nature, rather than persevering in an occupation for which he was, from the outset, peculiarly disqualified. The old man now gloried in the boldness of his adventure, and was proud of its success: he fondly transcribed “The Library” with his own hand; and, in short, reaped the reward of his own early exertions to give his son a better education than his circumstances could well afford.’ pp. 103, 4.

The only individual in whose esteem he was scarcely raised by his success, was his ever-encouraging and confiding Mira; and exquisite must have been the feelings with which the young clergyman now revisited Parham. One melancholy circumstance detracted from the joy of this triumphant return to his native scenes. That affectionate parent who would have lost all sense of sickness



and suffering, had she witnessed his success, was no more; having sunk under disease, during his absence. Mr. Crabbe was also pained at finding himself received by his fellow-townsmen with coldness, suspicion, and envy; such as proverbially attach to a prophet in his own country. When he entered the pulpit for the first time, the sight of the unfriendly countenances about him, awakened, he confessed, a degree of indignation, mingled with better feelings, which made him care little what they thought of him or of his sermon. Had there been nothing to operate as an antidote to vanity, the circumstances of his altered position might have induced a vain-glorious self-esteem. He continued to hold the curacy of Aldborough, however, only a few months. The unwearied kindness of Mr. Burke still followed his *protégé*, and procured for him the honourable appointment of domestic chaplain at Belvoir Castle. The offered situation, Mr. Crabbe did not of course hesitate to accept; but it proved one that little accorded with his independent feelings; and the painful circumstances attendant upon what most persons would have deemed enviable advancement, 'were productive, in his mind, of some of the acutest sensations of wounded pride that have ever been traced by any 'pen.' While residing at Belvoir, he completed, and (in May, 1783) published, "The Village," the success of which exceeded the author's utmost expectations. The sale was rapid and extensive, and established his literary reputation on the high ground which it has ever since maintained. In the same year, the Lord Chancellor presented him to the small livings of Frome St. Quintin and Evershot in Dorsetshire; and, that he might be entitled to hold this preferment, the Archbishop of Canterbury conferred upon him the degree of LL.B. On his return to Suffolk with the Rutland family, Mr. Crabbe hastened to claim the long-pledged hand of Miss Elmy, who had prudently resisted every proposal of immediate marriage till her lover should have attained some position less precarious than that of a curate. They were married in December, 1783, and shortly afterwards took up their residence in apartments allotted to their use in Belvoir Castle, the noble owner of which had been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the family were consequently absent. Strict orders had been given, that their convenience should be consulted in every possible manner by the servants; but it was found to be a disagreeable thing to be attended by the domestics of an absent family; and Mr. Crabbe, before a year and a half had elapsed, took the neighbouring curacy of Strathern, and transferred himself to the humble parsonage of that village. The four years which he passed in this obscure retreat, he often spoke of as the happiest in his life. His Mira and he could now ramble at pleasure amid the rich woods of Belvoir. At home, a garden afforded him healthful exercise and unfailing amusement; he also cultivated

botany and entomology with insatiable ardour; and he continued to practise his original profession among such poor people as chose to solicit his aid. 'He grudged no personal fatigue to attend the 'sick-bed of the peasant, in the double capacity of physician and 'priest;' on some occasions, he was obliged to act even as accoucheur; and his gratuitous services were claimed by some above the poorer orders.

'Never,' says his Biographer, 'was any man more fitted for domestic life than my father; and, but for circumstances not under his control,—especially the delicate state of health into which my mother ere long declined,—I am sure no man would have enjoyed a larger share of every sort of domestic happiness. His attachment to his family was boundless; but his contentment under a long temporary oblivion may also, in great part, be accounted for, by the unwearied activity of his mind. As the chief characteristic of his heart was benevolence, so, that of his mind was a buoyant exuberance of thought and perpetual exercise of intellect. Thus, he had an inexhaustible resource within himself, and never for a moment suffered under that *ennui* which drives so many from solitude to the busy search for notoriety. Out of doors he had always some object in view,—a flower, a pebble, or his note-book in his hand; and in the house, if he was not writing, he was reading. He read aloud very often, even when walking, or seated by the side of his wife in the huge, old-fashioned one-horse chaise, heavier than a modern chariot, in which they usually were conveyed in their little excursions, and the conduct of which he, from awkwardness and absence of mind, prudently relinquished to my mother on all occasions. . . . Though he for so many years made no fresh appeal to the public voice, he was all that time busily engaged in composition. Numberless were the manuscripts which he completed; and not a few of them were destined never to see the light. I can well remember more than one grand incrimination [cremation],—not in the chimney, for the bulk of paper to be consumed would have endangered the house,—but in the open air; and with what glee his children vied in assisting him, stirring up the fire, and bringing him fresh loads of the fuel as fast as their little legs would enable them.' pp. 133, 4.

Among the various works thus destroyed, was an unfinished Essay on Botany, which was laid aside, we are told, in consequence of the remonstrances of a learned Academic, who 'could 'not stomach the notion of degrading such a science by treating 'of it in '—English!!

In 1785, Mr. Crabbe published his poem entitled "The Newspaper," which was well received by the critics and by the public. His next poetical publication, "The Parish Register," did not appear till after an interval of twenty-two years!

'From his thirty-first year to his fifty-second, he buried himself completely in the obscurity of domestic and village life, hardly catching, from time to time, a glimpse of the brilliant society in which he



had for a season been welcomed, and gradually forgotten as a *living* author by the public, who only, generally speaking, continued to be acquainted with the name of Crabbe from the extended circulation of certain striking passages in his early poems, through their admission into "The Elegant Extracts." p. 131.

We must pass rapidly over the biographical details relating to the interval, though not destitute of interest, and hasten to complete the portrait of this estimable man, by tracing a few additional traits of character. Mr. Crabbe had been, in 1789, presented to the livings of Muston in Leicestershire, and Allington in Lincolnshire; and he resided for some time in the parsonage at Muston; but subsequently placed a curate there, and returned to Suffolk, where he undertook the duties of two small parishes near Parham. Of his characteristics as a preacher, we have the following description.

'During the whole time my father officiated in Suffolk, he was a popular preacher, and had always large congregations. For, notwithstanding that he adopted not what are called evangelical principles, yet was he deemed a Gospel preacher; but this term, as it was applied then and there, fell short of the meaning it now conveys. It signified simply a minister who urges his flock to virtuous conduct, by placing a future reward ever full in their view, instead of dwelling on the temporal motives rendered so prominent at that time by many of his brethren.

'His style of reading in the desk was easy and natural—at any rate, natural to him, though a fastidious ear might find in it a species of affectation, something a little like assumed authority; but there was no tone, nothing of sing-song. He read too rapidly, it is true. . . In the pulpit, he was entirely unaffected,—read his sermon with earnestness, and in a voice and manner, on some occasions, peculiarly affecting; but he made no attempt at extempore preaching, and utterly disregarded all the mechanism of oratory. . . . He was always, like his own author-rector in the Parish Register, "careless of hood and band," &c.' pp. 162, 3.

For a Suffolk clergyman of those days, Mr. Crabbe might be deemed an exemplary and—speaking *comparatively*—an evangelical minister; but it is impossible to forget the highly objectionable tendency of some of his tales, and the angry dislike which he manifests towards sectaries and dissenters. His Son, with much delicacy, accounts for these feelings, without attempting to vindicate them. During the twelve years of his non-residence at Muston, 'a Wesleyan missionary had formed a thriving establishment there;' and, on his resuming the charge of his own parish, Mr. Crabbe was much annoyed at finding the congregations at church no longer such as they had been of old. 'The warmth with which he began to preach against dissent,' remarks his Bio-

grapher, 'only irritated himself and others, without bringing back disciples to the fold.'

'But the progress of the Wesleyans was, after all, a slight vexation, compared to what he underwent from witnessing the much more limited success of a disciple of Huntington in spreading in the same neighbourhood the pernicious fanaticism of his half-crazy master. The *social* and *moral* effects of that new mission were well calculated to excite not only regret, but indignation; and, among other distressing incidents, was the departure from his own household of two servants, a woman and a man, one of whom had been employed by him for twenty years. This man, a conceited ploughman, set up for an Huntingtonian preacher himself; and the woman, whose moral character had been sadly deteriorated since her adoption of the new lights, was at last obliged to be dismissed, in consequence of intolerable insolence. I mention these things, because they may throw light on some passages in my father's later poetry.' p. 182.

The preface to "The Borough," first published in 1810, betrays how much the Author's mind was engrossed and irritated, at the time, by the circumstances above-mentioned. His next publication, "Tales in Verse," published in 1812, is characterized by his Biographer as a work equally striking and 'far *less* objectionable than its predecessor; for here, no flimsy connexion is attempted between subjects naturally separate; nor consequently was there any such temptation to compel into verse matters essentially prosaic.' His last work, "Tales of the Hall," for which he obtained from Mr. Murray the munificent sum of 3000*l.*, appeared in June, 1819. These Tales, equal in interest and merit, perhaps, to any of the Author's earlier productions, are unhappily disfigured by passages of an objectionable tendency; and, indeed, some of the tales are altogether exceptionable. The sternest critic, however, after reading these Memoirs, will be disposed to forgive, although he cannot but deeply regret, the prejudice and error of judgement betrayed in these portions of the Author's writings. Mr. Crabbe was no bigot; but he came into collision with Dissent and Methodism under circumstances which could not fail to produce a strong revulsion against every thing associated with those forms of religious profession. His theological knowledge was, we suspect, extremely imperfect; which, considering the circumstances of his earlier years, is not to be wondered at. Possibly, the ingenuous and fervent piety which characterizes the extracts from his private journal, written during his struggle with poverty and disappointment, did not maintain itself unimpaired under that blaze of patronage and literary celebrity to which it was subsequently exposed. The polished circles to which Mr. Crabbe was admitted, the tables of the great at which he was a favoured guest, the princely mansion of which he



became an inmate, were far from being favourable to the cultivation of personal religion. That he entered the church with a sincere intention to devote himself to the duties of the sacred office, cannot be doubted. His early note-books contain proofs that he was in the practice of composing sermons 'in imitation of Tillotson,' long before he could have had the least surmise that he was ever to be a preacher. But what could he learn in the school of Tillotson, but a meagre, sapless divinity? It is pleasing to find that, as he advanced in years, his religious views became more distinct and more consonant with Scriptural truth.

'I am bound to add,' says his Biographer, 'that, in a later period of life, and more especially during the last ten years of it, he became more conscious of the importance of dwelling on the doctrines as well as the practice of Christianity, than he had been when he first took orders; and when a selection of his Sermons is placed before the public, it will be seen that he had gradually approached, in substantial matters, though not exactly in certain peculiar ways of expression, to that respected body usually denominated Evangelical Christians of the Church of England; with whom, nevertheless, he was never classed by others, nor, indeed, by himself.' p. 108.

We need scarcely point out the filial delicacy with which the Biographer has touched these weaker parts of his father's character, and intimated those foibles which a regard to truth forbade him wholly to conceal, without bringing them into full display. In 1814, Mr. Crabbe was presented by the Duke of Rutland to the living of Trowbridge in Wiltshire. A few months before, death had released his beloved partner from the bodily infirmities which had for a long period impaired her mind. He was therefore the more inclined to a change of residence; and the disaffection of his parishioners, arising from 'diversity of religious sentiment,' is admitted to have contributed to decide him on leaving Muston. This coolness he 'felt the more painfully, because, whatever might be their difference of opinion, he was ever ready to help and oblige them all, by medical and other aid, to the utmost extent of his power.' So far did they carry this unkind feeling, as to ring the bells for his successor, before he had himself left the residence. At Trowbridge, he was not much better liked during the first years of his residence. His immediate predecessor was a curate whose zeal and powerful talent for preaching had endeared him to the inhabitants; so much so, that the town petitioned the Duke of Rutland to give him the living; and his Grace's refusal had irritated many even of those who took little interest in the qualifications of their pastor. Mr. Crabbe was, moreover, represented to be a dissipated man; and he gave colour to these injurious reports by occasional violations of clerical decorum. He might be seen now and then at a concert, a ball, or

even a play. What Suffolk parson of the old school would have scrupled to frequent them? Then, again, he imprudently espoused the cause of a candidate for the county representation, (Mr. Benett of Pyt House,) to whom the manufacturing interest, the prevalent one in his parish, was extremely hostile.

‘Lastly,’ continues his Biographer, ‘to conclude this long list, Mr. Crabbe, in a town remarkable for diversity of sects and warmth of discussion, adhered for a season, unchanged, to the same view of scriptural doctrines which had latterly found little favour even at simple Muston. As he has told us of his own Rector, in *The Tales of the Hall* :—

“A moral teacher! some contemptuous cried;  
He smiled, but nothing of the fact denied;  
Nor, save by his fair life, to charge so strong replied.  
Still, tho’ he bade them not on aught rely  
That was their own, but all their worth deny,  
They call’d his pure advice his cold morality.  
Heathens, they said, can tell us right from wrong,  
But to a Christian higher points belong.”

‘But, while these things were against him, there were two or three traits in his character, which wrought slowly, but steadily in his favour. One was his boldness and uncompromising perseverance in the midst of opposition and reproach. . . . But mildness was as natural to him as his fortitude; and this, of course, had a tendency to appease enmity, even at its height. A benevolent, gentle heart was seen in his manner and countenance, and no occasional hastiness of temper could conceal it. And then it soon became known that no one left his house unrelieved. But, above all, the liberality of his conduct with respect to dissenters, brought a counter current in his favour. Though he was warmly attached to the Established Church, he held that

“A man’s opinion was his own, his due  
And just possession, whether false or true.”

And, in all his intercourse with his much-divided parishioners, he acted upon this principle, visiting and dealing indiscriminately, and joining the ministers of the various denominations in every good work. In the course of a few years, therefore, not only all opposition died away, but he became generally and cordially esteemed.’ pp. 219—222.

Mr. Crabbe was extremely moderate in the exaction of tithes. His charity was so well known, that he was besieged by mendicants of all grades. He was of course often imposed upon: on discovering that he had been, he would say, ‘God forgive them,—‘I do.’ As he grew older, we are informed, he became not less careful, but increasingly bountiful and charitable. He lived scrupulously within the limits of his income, augmented by the produce of his literary exertions, but freely gave away all that he



did not want for current expenses. He was anxious for the education of the humbler classes; and the Sunday School was to him a favourite place of resort. When listening to the children, he has been heard to observe; 'I love to hear the little dears; and 'now old age has made me a fit companion for them.' He was a subscriber to most of our great charitable institutions; and as a member of the British and Foreign Society, presided at meetings of the Auxiliary Society at Trowbridge. Regular in the discharge of his clerical duties, for nearly forty years, he did not omit the duty on one Sunday; and he continued to officiate till the two last Sabbaths before his decease, in spite of paroxysms of pain and the growing infirmities of age, of which he was not unconscious. In his private devotions, he is represented to have been exemplary and earnest; and 'the most important of all 'considerations' had perceptibly an *increasing* influence on his mind.

A severe cold was the immediate occasion of somewhat hastening his death, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his residence at Trowbridge, on Feb. 3, 1832. The shutters of the shops in the town were half closed, as soon as his death was known. On the day of his funeral, ninety-two of the principal inhabitants, including all the dissenting ministers, assembling of their own accord in the school-room, followed his remains to the grave. And a monument, erected by his parishioners, records their veneration for their friend and minister, in a chaste and elegant inscription, in which he is described, in the language of 'a great contemporary', as

'Nature's sternest painter, yet her best.'

We have suffered ourselves to dwell upon this moral portraiture, from the strong interest which it cannot fail to waken. It is the history of no ordinary life; and in its long and varied course are mirrored the times through which it passed. The Life of Crabbe forms a link between the times of Johnson, Reynolds, and Burke, and the literary men and literary tastes of the day. But it is not interesting merely in this point of view. The incidental illustrations which it furnishes of the moral progress that has been going forward in society, would supply matter for instructive comment. Those who imagine that the state of national manners was purer or happier fifty years ago, who prattle of the 'good old times' of rural prosperity or village innocence, would do well to study the faithful chronicle of those times in the poetry of Crabbe, together with the illustrations furnished by these Memoirs, of the working of the old church and state system. Mr. Crabbe was an impartial and competent witness. He was one of the old school, and loved to talk of early days, but he knew that the new were better; and preserving the freshness of his youthful feelings

even in green old age, he did not disdain to assimilate himself in some degree to the spirit of the better times which he had survived to witness. Early life presented to him no golden age. Suffolk, to his memory or imagination, was no Arcadia. The rude and gross manners of its rural population, the prevailing religious ignorance, the low degree of civilization which characterized its parsons and its squires, are faithfully mirrored in the scenes and characters of the 'Hogarth of song.' Poverty more squalid, crime more daring and brutal, do not now exist, than disgraced society in those days. Reality requires no darker colouring than it assumes in the pages of our poetical moralist. But the Author afforded a striking proof in his own character, that the sternest estimates of men and things are compatible with the warmest benevolence. Altogether, this is a volume replete with instruction to every thinking mind and feeling heart; and it may fairly be pronounced one of the most delightful pieces of biography in the language.

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Art. II. *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell*; from the Time of the Norman Conquest. By J. H. Wiffen, M.R.S.L., &c., &c., 8vo. 2 Vols. pp. xx, 563, 604. London, 1833.

THE biographical province of history is that which will always prove the most attractive to the general reader. The attention is excited and sustained by the adventures of a hero, which would flag over the dry narration of facts and dates. We think of Troy and of Carthage as the cities of Hector and Hannibal; and it is as such that we are interested in their fate. Thus, in those portions of our history which have been touched by the magic hand of Shakspeare, we find a charm which we might vainly expect in less favoured chapters of the annals of England. We feel at home the moment Harry the Fifth or the proud and wily Cardinal appears on the mental stage: and we venture to say, that a more distinct acquaintance with the question as to the respective rights of the rival Roses has been gained by the majority of readers from the speech of York in Henry VI. \*, than from all the histories of England, prose, verse, or catechetical, that have been compiled. The antiquary and the jurist alone find attractions in the eras of Druidical and Anglo-Saxon domination: with Hereward, with Harold, with Alfred, we are familiar from our cradle. The Constitutions of Clarendon would be unknown, except as part of legal history, but for the contest of Henry with his quondam favourite; and even with

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\* Henry VI., Pt. II., act 2, scene 2.



regard to Magna Charta, the tyranny of John and the spirited resistance of his barons engage our attention more than the abstract rights and condition of king, peer, and serf. As the record of events become more ample, and the principal characters more developed, our interest increases; and in the feuds and factions of the court of Elizabeth, and of the Stuarts, we are as conversant as with the politics of our day.

The annals of the House of Russell afford a fair subject for that middle species between history and biography which, after the French, we call Memoirs. The early origin ascribed by their historiographer to this noble line, affords 'ample scope and verge enough,' as far as regards the period embraced by the chronicle; while the diplomatic employments, or brilliant achievements, of many of the name, shed a lustre over the authentic family records. In the prosecution of his design, entertained for nearly nine years, of 'collecting together all the records he could find, connected with the Russell family, in Normandy and England,' and of 'embodying in a systematic narrative the most memorable actions of the family, from the earliest known period, that could now be gathered from the keep of time,' Mr. Wiffen has been very fortunate. Our public libraries, the archives of the Tower and Somerset House, the 'muniment room of the prefecture at Caen, and the tower of Matignon at St. Loo,' have yielded their contents to his unwearied pursuit. The letters, among many others, of the two first earls, gleaned from the British Museum, the Exchequer Record, and State-paper offices, convey valuable and curious information respecting the diplomacy of the day; and the portraits and delineation of men and manners do credit to the research, taste, and ability of the Historian.

The deduction of the 'first race' of the Russell or Du Rozel family from no less a personage than 'Olaf the sharp-eyed, King of Rerik,' the only part of the memoirs which is at all likely to be deemed apocryphal, is printed separately, though uniformly with the volumes before us. It is, therefore, little more than alluded to, and the reader will doubtless be satisfied with tracing the line of pedigree to a brother of Rollo, first Duke of Normandy. This personage, Drogo by name, assumed the appellation of Turstain, in token of his descent from Thor, (which descent Mr. W. seems to consider as somewhat doubtful,) and was invested by his brother with the northern district of La Manche. The barony of Briquebec, as his territory was called, descended to William, who took the surname of Bertrand. Hugh Bertrand, the first recorded Lord of Le Rozel, is supposed to have been a younger son of the said William; and with him commences as well the name as the undoubted pedigree of the illustrious house of Russell.

The Lord of Le Rozel, soon after the battle of Hastings, in

which he took an active part, retired to the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen, which he had endowed with lands in Normandy shortly before his assumption of the cowl. His name, therefore, does not occur in Domesday Book, though there is evidence in other ancient records, that members of his family enjoyed lands in Dorset. His son, Hugh Lord of Rozel near Caen, (not of Le Rozel and Barneville,) engaged with his elder brother Roger in the holy war, in which the latter fell before Antioch. This Hugh, who continued the English line, is supposed to have witnessed the accession of five Kings of England. Records on both sides of the Channel, in which his name occurs, are considered by Mr. Wiffen as sufficient to authenticate the traditional account of his extreme longevity. The names of his daughter and five sons occur frequently in deeds. The former ' was

' doubtless interred, agreeably to her provision, in the sanctuary of the abbey of Ardenne, which was highly venerated, says the Abbé de la Rue, on account of the regular lives of its inmates, and their hospitality to the poor. The abbey sustained many disasters by pillage in the wars with England, and by ravage of the Protestants in the sixteenth century; but it survived through all, down to the French Revolution. Then its altars were desecrated, its cloisters overthrown, and the tombs of its benefactors sacrilegiously destroyed. The stranger who now visits the spot, may still pace the aisle of the abbey church, and survey a wide extent of country from its summit; but instead of "the chaunted hymn and tapered rite," that were wont of yore to consecrate its precincts, he will hear only the hum of rustic labour, the murmur of a dove, or the simple sound of a solitary flail. In the staircase of the tower whence the sacristan used to ring the chime for matins, the owl nurses her brood; and spiders weave their webs along the columns that encompassed marbles, sacred to the memory of the Lords of Hermanville and the generous Lady of Rozel.' vol. I. pp. 81, 82.

The spirit which urged the early Du Rozels to the war of the croisades, had not faded in the reign of Edward III. We then find Sir John Russell embarking in an enterprise against the Saracens of Barbary. On the landing of the expedition at the *town* of Africa, the barbarians were naturally anxious to learn what motive had caused the appearance of so formidable an armament, and were informed, that the object in view was to retaliate on them the misdeeds of their ancestors, who were no other than the crucifiers of our Lord. The fact of these malefactors not being Jews, produced no effect on the champions of the Virgin; but the strength of the Moorish fortifications proved an insuperable argument. It is hard to decide, whether we should most admire the historical knowledge or the logical inference of these Christian knights.

A violent tempest, which drove three foreign vessels into the



port of Weymouth, proved the means of introducing John, afterwards first Earl of Bedford, to the notice of King Henry the VIIth. On board one of these ships were the Archduke Philip, and his bride, the unfortunate Joanna. The royal party were entertained at Wolverton by Sir Thomas Trenchard, who invited Mr. Russell, lately returned from the continent, to assist in entertaining the royal pair. The talents and intelligence of Mr. Russell, as well as his services as interpreter, induced Philip to request his attendance to Windsor, and to mention him to the English monarch.

“ Russell was accordingly introduced, and found himself in the presence of a slender but comely personage, with a reverend countenance a little like a churchman, which, as it was not very winning or pleasing, so neither was it strange nor dark,—the face as of a well disposed person, but one which would have been to the disadvantage of a painter, for it had the best expression when he spoke.” Vol. I. pp. 181, 182.

The first result of this introduction was the appointment of Mr. Russell to the privy chamber.

An exploit in France, during the war carried on under the personal auspices of the young king Henry VIII., strikingly resembles, in the despatch with which it was accomplished, the mission which gained Wolsey the favour of his royal master. Mr. Russell was entrusted with a company to prevent the relief of Therouenne in Picardy, and, on his return to the presence, was received with marks of anger and impatience. ‘Eh, eh! Russell,’ said the King, ‘whilst we are fooling, the town is relieved.’ ‘So it is, indeed,’ replied he; ‘for I have sent them two thousand carcasses, and they have spared me twelve hundred waggons of provisions.’ ‘Aye, but,’ said the King; ‘I sent after you to cut off the bridge Dreban.’ ‘That,’ said Mr. Russell, ‘was the first thing I did; wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majesty’s grace and pardon.’ ‘Nay, then,’ said the King, ‘by ’r Lady, thou hast not only my pardon, but my favour too.’\*

Having been knighted by the Earl of Surrey for his gallantry in a descent on the coast of Brittany, Sir John Russell entered, in 1522, on his diplomatic career. The Emperor Charles and the English monarch, or rather the Cardinal Minister, had concerted a league against France; and to the Constable Bourbon, then on the point of open rupture with his sovereign, Sir John was despatched as the envoy of Wolsey. It was a post of no ordinary importance, and the agent passed through Flanders in disguise. His instructions were, to offer the advance of a hundred thousand crowns on the part of the English sovereign, with the erection of Provence and Burgundy into a kingdom for

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\* Cited from Lloyd’s *State Worthies*, Vol. I. p. 322.

the Constable, who was required to attack Burgundy, and to acknowledge the right of Henry to the throne of France. The wily policy of Wolsey urged as an argument, that Bourbon would still preserve his fidelity to the *crown*, while he avenged his personal wrongs on Francis.

‘ Sir John prevailed on him to sign all the conditions of the treaty he presented, received the duke’s solemn oath that he would assuredly observe its articles, and returned upon his sovereign’s part the like ratification. The secret but mighty influence which that interchange was to have upon the future condition and religious prospects of mankind, was what neither party could at that period imagine or foresee. Had Bourbon stood aloof, one necessary link would have been wanting to the chain of events which afterwards stretched the Roman Pontiff in the dust, and dispelled in England the dark credulity of ages.’ Vol. I. p. 204.

The thrilling and hair’s-breadth escapes of Bourbon in his flight from Chantilly, fall within the notice of Mr. Wiffen, as do the whole of those proceedings which terminated in his death, before the walls of Rome. During the whole of this eventful period, Sir John Russell ably sustained his confidential diplomatic labours: his advices, illustrative of the state of affairs, serve to heighten the interest of this very delightful part of the Memoirs. We must make room for the vivid description of the battle of Pavia.

‘ The King, conspicuous to all his chivalry by his tall person, flowing plume, and rich surcoat of silver worn over his armour, cheered on by his voice, and still more by his actions, the knights and soldiers which surrounded him. By his own heroic bearing, and the prowess of his legions, the issue of the fight was still suspended; but it was only for a season. The furious charge of Lannoy and the Basque cross-bows of Pescara, who, issuing from and retiring at their pleasure to the ranks of the trained pike-men, selected with their quarrels the most distinguished of the foe, threw the gens-d’armes into confusion. La Tremouille received two of their bolts at the same time; the one passed through his head, and the other pierced his heart. Their disorder, and the well-timed incursions of De Guasto, threw the Swiss into a panic; they fled precipitately from the field; and Diespach, their general, unable to reclaim them, threw away his life upon the lance-knights in a fit of indignation and despair. The black bands (of De Medici) and the White Rose (Pole) fought wildly in their room, till this was sorely wounded, and those were cut to pieces, mown down in ranks, and lying on the plain like shocks of corn beneath the scythe or sickle. The defection of the Swiss, and the slaughter of these heroes, dispirited the Duc D’Alençon; the battle was centering round the place where Francis fought; La Palisse, who on his side had twice beaten back Castaldo, the second in command to Pescara, had his horse shot under him, and was



captured : all depended on the conduct of d'Alençon. Instead, however, of yielding the prompt succour which the exigence demanded, by bringing up his horse to a second rescue, he suffered his mind to be overpowered by the peril of the crisis, and ignobly retreated from the field. The King's battle was still galled by the cross-bows of the Basques. His *grand écuyer*, St. Severin, whose duty it was to guard his person, marked out by his crest and pennon, fell. Guillaume du Bellay ran to his assistance ; but the dying warrior said that he could do him no more service, and bade him rather guard the royal person. To the like loyal duty hastened, too, all such as marked with execration the flight of the Duc d'Alençon,—La Roche du Maine, the Duke's lieutenant ; Clement de Marot, France's poet, who was in the Duc d'Alençon's retinue ; and the gallant De Fleuranges, who had vainly striven to change his purpose. These and others of the French King's gentlemen closed around his person, and renewed the struggle. The lance-knights were repulsed, the bow-men beaten down ; Pescara was wounded and unhorsed : Lannoy, eager for his safety, was charged and beaten back ; when the other imperial leaders hastened to the spot with their divisions, De Guasto, and Castaldo, and De Leyva from Pavia. . . . . No alternative remained to the high-spirited monarch, but to sell his life as dearly as possible.. Surrounded as he was by the concourse of the enemy, he slew six of the assailants who adventured to attack him. He got out of the press, but was followed by four Spanish musqueteers, who, attracted by his dress and collar, called upon him to surrender. The King could not endure the idea of yielding to the common soldiers ; he returned no answer, but sought to pass along. One of them struck his horse with the butt-end of his musquet, and the king fell, insensible for a while, beneath the dying animal.' Vol. I. pp. 241—3.

The accidental arrival of an officer saved the life of Francis ; and the first who recognized the royal prize, was de Pomperant, the friend of Bourbon, who had accompanied him in his perilous flight from Chantilly, when the Constable passed as his valet. Francis naturally refused to yield his sword to his revolted subject, and Pomperant summoned to the spot Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who received it on his knees. The Constable soon arrived, his sword yet dripping with French blood ; and when his request to kiss the hand of the king was denied, moved to tears, he is said to have exclaimed, ' Alas, sir, if my counsel had been followed, neither should you have been in this estate, nor had so much blood of the French nobility been shed as stains the fields of Italy.' ' I must have patience,' said the king, casting his eyes up to heaven, ' since fortune has deserted me !'

After this memorable and disastrous battle, Sir John Russell, on the departure of Bourbon from Genoa, commenced his return to England. While in Bologna, through which city he directed his route, a plot was formed to seize and send him prisoner to

Paris : the attempt was happily detected and frustrated by the address of Thomas Cromwell, who held the rank of an inferior officer in the army of the Constable. Under colour of persuading a quiet submission to arrest, Cromwell induced Sir John hastily to change garments with a menial, and thus, undiscovered, they reached Mantua. Gratitude induced the knight to present his deliverer to Wolsey, and from being the steward of the cardinal, he rose to fame and a peerage.

A second and a third mission proved the satisfactory manner in which Sir John Russell had discharged the duties of his first. On the restoration of Francis to liberty, the Bed of Justice he immediately assembled, backed by the voice of his nobles and people, rejected the stipulations that had been made the price, and declared that, as extorted, they were not binding, even *in foro conscientiae*. The English minister, disappointed in his expectations from Charles, was ready to throw his influence into the other scale. The Pope, the cause of the renewal of the war, conferred on the alliance of Rome, England, France, Milan, and Venice, the high-sounding title of 'the Holy League of Italy'; that league which was destined to bring the sword of Bourbon on the patrimony of St. Peter, and to consign the Eternal City to rapine more unsparing than the worst fury of the Goths.

'Under pagan Rome,' says Mr. Wiffen, 'the cause of this impending attack, similar in its fury and subsequent atrocity to those savage inroads of the Goths and Huns, which broke down its gigantic fabric, would naturally have been termed Necessity, the goddess, and, as Euripides always represents her, the omnipotent controller of all human destiny. But under Papal Rome, whose frame, in the person of its mitred hierarch, received thereby a shock which it has never since recovered, the agency by which it was produced deserves a name more truly consistent with the representations of our sacred faith. The gathered tempest already hung upon the Apennines. If considered in its course as the minister of chastisement to the crimes, the luxuries, the fearful blasphemies, and persecutions of a hundred pontiffs, it will be regarded, certainly with curiosity and interest, but with none of that sacred pity which often attaches to the desolation and the woes of suffering states.' Vol. I. p. 292.

During these events, Sir John was active in Italy; and his efforts to infuse vigour into the vacillating policy of Pope Clement were such, that, we are told, on his quitting the papal court, he 'left behind him in the minds of the Italians, equal 'estimation and regret.' His letters to Wolsey express the wish of the Romans, that the tiara were already on the brows of the ambitious priest: had such been the case, the sack of Rome would hardly have occurred. The minister of Henry the Eighth would not have spent the very moments of the storm in 'pros-



trate prayer,' or rather abject fear before the high altar of St. Peter.

The fall of the great cardinal produced no check in the tide of honour flowing towards Sir John Russell, now comptroller of the household. Cromwell, his deliverer at Bologna, in the year 1531, was knighted, and sworn of the privy council; and Mr. Wiffen remarks, that the honours of Sir John, his earliest patron, kept pace with his own preferment. In the abrogation of the Pope's supremacy, and the consequent visitation of the abbeys, the latter was the principal counsellor and agent. The Author of the *Memoirs* ably vindicates Sir John from the charges brought against him, by Burke, of greedy plunder of church property, based on the simple fact of his subsequent enjoyment of monastic lands. The only abbey, on the contrary, that was completely spared, that, namely of Peterborough, which was converted into a bishopric, we find under the protection of Sir John Russell.

This truly great man was subsequently elevated to the peerage under the titles of Baron Russell of Chenies, and Earl of Bedford. For the sequel of his history, we must refer our readers to the volumes before us. Of this veteran statesman, 'by the analysts of his time emphatically termed the Gentle and the Good,' it is stated that, besides being a great encourager of literature, 'he wrote two Latin treatises himself, which prove his attainments in Divine truth, viz. one volume on the Rights due to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities, and another of *Comments on the Canticles!*' His remains were deposited in the private chapel attached to the parish church of Chenies in Buckinghamshire, 'which had received the dust of many knights and warriors of the Cheney family, and which yet contains some of their antique and mutilated effigies.' The manor of Chenies had been the property of that family ever since the sixth of Edward I. It came to the Earl of Bedford by his marriage with the heiress, and was formerly conveyed to their son by the heir male of its ancient proprietor. The village of Chenies is one of the most picturesque in the kingdom, and a degree of romance still lingers about the remains of 'the Great House,' the millenarian oak, and the 'proud chappelle.' Strange stories are whispered among the villagers, of the sounds that have been heard in untenanted rooms, of the mailed figure that has been seen guarding the last repose of the ancient earls, and the shadows which yet flit around the aged tree. The age of intellect laughs to scorn the nocturnal terrors of the olden time. The drudging goblin has departed from the homesteads of England, and the last Halloween has resounded with the elfin mirth of northern fays. But local superstition of a milder and less irrational character blends with the indefinite feelings produced

by the domestic architecture of other days,—those legends in brick or stone; a superstition to which the imagination loves to surrender itself, and which reason finds it sometimes difficult to resist. The sylvan beauties of Chenies are well adapted to cherish these feelings. The present exemplary Rector, Lord Wriothsley Russell, the eldest son of His Grace of Bedford by his present Dutchess, now occupies the elegant modern parsonage which confronts the venerable remains of the long deserted Hall of the Chenies. We know not whether he will have nerve enough to maintain his residence there so near the slumbering relics of his ancestry; but if so, he may perhaps succeed in discharging the functions of an exorcist.

The golden age of Queen Elizabeth witnessed the elevation of Sir William Russell to the post of Lord Deputy of Ireland. The fame of his military talent preceded his appointment; and we are told that the choice gave great annoyance to the court of Spain, which anticipated in consequence a speedy check to the Irish tumults. Ireland, never totally subdued, and divided, within the pale, by the feuds of its English lords, had been drained of the greater part of these hated proprietors by the wars of the Roses. The native chieftains, who had been driven to the mountains, seized the opportunity, and descended, at the head of their warlike septs, to regain the inheritance of their ancestors. Some of the settlers were expelled; others were brought into subjection to the Irish; and others became identified with them, and took part in their revolts. The frequent change of governor caused a constant vacillation in Irish policy, and the result was the increase of the disorders.

Hugh, baron of Dungannon, for the services he had rendered the English, was rewarded with the title and estates of the attainted Earl of Tyrone. ‘But,’ says Mr. Wiffen, ‘his heart in every fortune remained wholly Irish: he was no sooner possessed of this dominion, than he abandoned his imagination to the same bright but fatal visions of kingly independence which had roused his haughty ancestry to arms. In the words of Spencer, “the frozen Snake, warmed by these compassions, soon began to hiss, and threaten danger to his benefactress.”’ He assumed the proscribed but magic title of O’Neale, and induced the other native chieftains of Ulster to join him in a confederation to preserve inviolate their religious and civil liberty. But, though his plans were laid, he by no means thought it expedient to throw off at once the mask; and the English Government was long the dupe of his dissimulation. In pursuance of this wily policy, Tyrone appeared among the English troops on the premature insurrection of Macguire of Fermanagh, and then, withdrawing from the camp as though in consequence of a wound he had received, sent secretly his brother Cormac with assistance to the confederates. Such was the character of Tyrone, who, on the



landing of Sir William Russell, repaired to the new Deputy with all due professions of loyalty, and attributed his late disaffection to the injustice of the former governor. Sir William's vote for the detention of the formidable earl was over-ruled in the council, and Tyrone was accordingly dismissed, much to the displeasure of the Queen. To a letter of reprimand to the council, Elizabeth added with her own hand the postscript:—

“ Good Will,—

Let not others' neglect of what they should, make you for company do what is not fit; and, above all things, hold up the dignity of a king's rule, which more consists in awe than liberty, which honours more a prince than fears a traitor. God bless you and send you mend what hath been amiss.” Vol. II. p. 24.

Besides this indomitable rebel and his Ulster confederates, the English pale was harassed by Pheagh M'Hugh, a kind of free-booting chieftain, between a robber and a nobleman, against whom Sir William made an expedition in the January succeeding his arrival, under colour of a hunting journey.

‘ As he entered the defile of Glendaloch, he must have been forcibly impressed with the wild and savage nature of the spot. The valley was shut in, as has been said, by mountains, whose vast perpendicular height threw it into gloom, and whose very summits, being covered either with brown heath or sable peat, reflected but a pale disastrous light, even when the sunshine streamed the brightest on them. On his left, russet with coppices of oak, rose Lagduff and Derrybawn; between which a swoln cataract descended, filling the region with its roar, as, in concert with many others, it leaped from crag to crag to meet the Glendala, a mountain stream, which, after feeding one of the two loughs which give the glen its name, becomes, on its junction with the Glendasan, the more spacious Avonmore, its waters spanned by a bridge of three arches. These loughs, Superstition had in earlier ages peopled with evil spirits and fierce serpents; but the holy anchorite, St. Kevin, fixing his abode beside it, had long since exorcised them by his prayers and miracles. In the gorge of the glen, to the height of ninety feet, soared one of those mysterious round towers for which Ireland is remarkable; and up and down the valley were the ivied ruins of oratories, churches, richly sculptured shrines, and abbeys, that had been the sepulchres of ancient kings,—melancholy relics of those Seven Churches which rendered Glendaloch so famous, when the peopled city in its bosom was in flourishing existence, and the faithful from all parts of the island crowded to its *Teampall na Skellig*, for shrift, for penance, or devotion. In the face of a precipice, formerly horrid with a wilderness of wood, which overhung the deep waters of the lake, the eye might still recognise the cavern which the saint had scooped out with his own hands for his oratory and dormitory during the austerities of Lent. But the fisher of Lochnahanlan had long ceased to listen to the “ chanted hymn,” and to be amused during the solitary hours of darkness with “ the tapered rites ” that had once

cheered the piles within its precincts. The glory of the saint had vanished, when the apparition of the Anglo-Norman came; and the sanctuary of Glendaloch had now for centuries been known only as the haunt of outlaws, and the scene where more outrages and murders were perpetrated than in any other spot of Irish land.'

Vol. II., pp. 24—26.

The expedition was unsuccessful; but a second captured the brothers, and a third, the wife and sister, of the daring M'Hugh. Tyrone at length unveiled his designs in the North; and the request of the Deputy for the assistance of an experienced officer, procured him a rival in Sir John Norris. This officer was inclined to a milder line of proceedings than experience had led Sir William Russell to adopt; and his representations, influencing the English court, which in consequence did not send the supplies requisite for carrying on the war with vigour, induced the Deputy to solicit his recall. Elizabeth, after his resignation, saw too late the advantage lost. A sense of the correctness of his views 'was forced upon her by each fresh despatch from Ireland, where Tyrone broke loose from every treaty by which he had been bound, and rejected every proposal for accommodation.' Sir John Norris was deprived of his command, and never recovered the blow.

We are in danger of being tempted to extend this article more than our limits will allow, by the high interest of parts of these volumes; particularly by that portion of the narrative which brings before us the closing career of the great Lord Russell. Of him, the House of Commons recorded its opinion, that he was 'wrongfully attainted and convicted;' and Mr. Wiffen quotes the words of Mr. Fox, that when his 'memory shall cease to be an object of respect and veneration, it requires no spirit of prophesy to foretell that English liberty will be fast approaching to its final consummation.'

These *Memoirs of the House of Russell* will entitle Mr. Wiffen to the character, as well of a pains-taking antiquary, as of an elegant scholar. The latter distinction he had already attained; and the extracts we have given would be sufficient to shew that he is worthy of his reputation. As regards his antiquarian researches, we have already alluded to his own modest account of his labours. The aid both of the artist and of the herald has been called in, with an occasional strain from the lyre of the Translator of Tasso. It is but justice to Mr. Wiffen to add, that he has avoided one fault so frequent in biographical narrations. He has not bored us with the Russells. He does not make Rome fall, in order that the English *chargé d'affaires* may have an opportunity of displaying his diplomatic talent. A man of real rank and standing can afford to dispense with that petty pride which is necessary to support the dignity of a *parvenu*. The name of Russell is so



connected with the annals, and with the glorious pages of the annals, of England, that there is no need to force it on the reader's attention. Nor has Mr. W., with one exception we think, the conduct of Admiral Russell with regard to James II. and the Prince of Orange, been misled into forming too high an opinion of the characters touched on in his memoir. The process of writing the life of any individual has a tendency to blind or bias the judgement. Every thing is looked at in one aspect, that of its bearing on the personal interests of the hero of the narrative; and this must have the effect of increasing his imaginary importance. Then the feelings become insensibly engaged; opponents are looked on as enemies, enemies as persecutors; crimes as misfortunes, misfortunes as the result of persecution; till the personage comes forth from his biographer's alembic with a character, genius, and reputation that neither himself nor his friends could for a moment have attributed to him. Mr. Wiffen has, we think, satisfactorily avoided this species of exaggeration, and his representations are biassed as little as possible by political opinion or party spirit; although his attachment is not concealed to the principles of civil and religious liberty, of which it is the noblest distinction of the noble family of Russell to have been the steady, hereditary friends and powerful supporters.

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Art. III. *A New Translation of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, with a Commentary, and an Appendix of various Dissertations.* By the Rev. Moses Stuart, M.A. Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, in the State of Massachusetts. Republished, by appointment of the Author, with Prefaces and an Index, under the care of John Pye Smith, D.D., and E. Henderson, Doct. Philos. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 563. London, 1833.

**T**HE Epistle of Paul to the Romans, the first in order in the arrangement of the printed editions and manuscripts of the New Testament, and, on the whole, the most important of his writings, is, in respect to some particulars of its critical history, attended with less of difficulty than most of the Epistles which follow it. The time and place in which it was written, may be fixed with a high degree of probability. The latter, indeed, can scarcely be said to be doubtful, since, from a comparison of passages, it may be determined as satisfactorily as points of this kind are capable of being settled, that it was sent to the Christians at Rome, from Corinth. Its date is generally fixed to the year A.D. 57, when the Apostle quitted Corinth for the last time, being about to visit Jerusalem, with the contributions which had been made in Macedonia and Achaia for the relief of the poor

converts in Judea. But if, in respect to date and place, this Epistle is more free from difficulties than other portions of the Apostle's writings, there are other circumstances, in regard to which we have less information, and more contracted means of forming a judgement, than we obtain in our study of the other epistles which bear his name. These were, for the most part, addressed to Christian communities with which the Apostle had had personal intercourse, either as their founder, or as having exercised his ministry among them. In writing to the churches of Galatia, to the Christian converts at Corinth and Ephesus, and to the Thessalonians, and the believers at Colosse, he was communicating with societies with whose circumstances he was well acquainted, and to whom he sustained a direct relation as a spiritual instructor. From the details which are furnished in the epistles themselves as sent to these Christian bodies, and from the Apostolic History of Luke, the companion of Paul through many scenes of his travels and ministry, we obtain available means of learning the state of the different communities, the circumstances in which they originated, and the individuals by whose exertions they were constituted. And these particulars are of no inconsiderable utility in assisting us to obtain explanation of many passages in the epistles, which might otherwise be left in obscurity. In respect, however, to the Epistle to the Romans, the external and collateral aids which, in some of the other cases, are so abundant, as sources of instruction, fail us. Of the state of Christianity at Rome, we have no early historical accounts. In the Acts of the Apostles, no record appears of transactions relating to the Christians in the city of the Cæsars. The Apostle himself, at the date of his Epistle to the Romans, had not been amongst them; and nothing occurs in any part of it, from which we might arrive at any satisfactory conclusions in respect to the introduction of the religion of Christ among them.

There is a strange account in Eusebius (*Eccles. His. Lib. ii. 14.*), of Simon Magus coming to Rome after his discomfiture by the Apostle Peter in Judea, and succeeding by demoniacal agency in gaining the admiration of the inhabitants of the city, who worshipped him as a god, till Peter arrived. That Apostle, by the power of his preaching, vanquished the impostor a second time, who immediately destroyed himself. The reign of Claudius is assigned as the time when these transactions occurred; and the whole purport of it conveys the notion, that Peter's residence at Rome as a preacher was of some duration. It suits the pretensions of the Romanists to make the best of every traditionary and legendary report; and the account of Peter's coming to Rome, which Eusebius has inserted in the second book of his history, is not more extraordinary than are some



other of his details. But the account is entitled to no credit. It bears throughout a fabulous complexion, and has been rejected by almost all sober critics. It would, however, in our opinion, be difficult to shew why this narrative should be expunged from the pages of Eusebius, or rejected as spurious, and some others of his representations retained as true ones. Peter was not, it would fully seem, the founder of the Church at Rome. It was in a flourishing state before the time of Paul's arrival. No one of the Apostles had probably ever visited it previously to that period. But of its rise, and the first promulgation of the Christian doctrine to its inhabitants, we can only frame conjectures.

It is scarcely to be supposed, that the knowledge of the new doctrine by which the regeneration of the world is to be accomplished, could remain concealed from the inhabitants of Rome. Intercourse with the provinces was constant; and the changes which were perpetually occurring, as commerce, and civil and military calls were regarded, would necessarily bring many of the Roman people into acquaintance with the teachers and disciples of the Christian faith. Many, on their return from the provinces, would continue to profess the faith which they had received. Among the attendants who heard Peter's discourse (Acts ii.) at the Pentecostal festival, were strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes. This was in A. D. 33, from which time to the period of Paul's first arrival at Rome, more than twenty years had elapsed; and in this time there was ample space for a considerable enlargement of the Christian community in the imperial city. There is nothing certainly of a decisive nature, from which we can deduce as fact, that the Christian Roman converts to whom Paul's epistle is addressed, were very numerous. Their faith, indeed, was spoken of everywhere; but a small society may become distinguished for their principles and practice. The very numerous salutations, however, in the close of the Epistle would seem to afford a presumption, that where so many of the community of believers at Rome were known to the Apostle, the society was of considerable extent; and no other evidence is necessary to shew its importance, than the epistle which he addressed to them.

Many suppositions have been ventured by expositors, who have been anxious to discover the occasion and reasons of the Apostle's writing to the Romans, which it would be tedious to repeat, and from the best of which nothing of real moment could be obtained for the elucidation of the contents of his Epistle inscribed to them. We know that the community of Christians at Rome was composed of Jews and Gentiles; but whether any particular circumstances were in the Apostle's view, when he introduced those discourses which constitute the peculiarity of this book, we are not able to decide. Differences of opinion and grounds of dis-

sension no doubt existed in the church at Rome, as they did in the churches of Galatia, and elsewhere, in consequence of the mixed profession of Jewish and Heathen converts. But the very remarkable portions of the Epistle to which we have referred, cannot be accounted for by any assignable variations in principle or in practice, which distinguished the Christians at Rome from their brethren in other countries.

The materials usually considered as proper for an Introduction (*Prolegomena*) are, in respect to this Epistle, very scanty. Its genuineness has been almost universally acknowledged. The few who opposed it in the early times, rejected it much for the same reason that Luther discarded the Epistle of James, namely, dislike of its doctrines. In recent times, objections have been adduced against the last two chapters; and the German critics have employed themselves in constructing some very curious hypotheses to account for them. A sufficient notice of these will be found in the Introduction to the present volume.

There are hosts of expositors who have treated in the way of commentary, both critical and practical, of the Epistle to the Romans; but the works are not very numerous to which a well-informed and judicious instructor would direct the inquiring who would wish to avail themselves of the most eligible means of studying its contents. Chrysostom has thirty-two homilies on this Epistle, replete with passages of great beauty. Calvin will not fail to be used and recommended by those who are acquainted with his acuteness and judiciousness as a commentator, though they may not be prepared to call him 'master.'\* Whitby and Macknight require a careful reader, but they are valuable to a student who knows how to make use of them with discrimination.

Of this very important but difficult book, the Translation and Exposition before us will not fail of being welcomed by every theological scholar who is desirous of being supplied with the best critical aids in his study of the New Testament; and the high reputation of the learned Author will prepare him fully to appreciate its value. From the instructions and suggestions contained in these pages, a person must be already thoroughly furnished as a divine, and complete in all the accomplishments of a philologist, who does not derive advantage for which he will feel grateful to the Author. Mr. Stuart has evidently bestowed, as

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\* We are happy to notice a new translation of Calvin's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, by Francis Sibson, A.B., which has just issued from the press. We shall take an early opportunity of reporting respecting its execution. The neglect which, hitherto, Calvin's expository writings have met with, is not creditable to English divines.



he professes to have done, much patient labour in his examination of the book which he has attempted to illustrate in this 'Commentary;' and he has not sent it forth without enabling every reader to pronounce from the materials before him, on his qualifications for an undertaking of this nature, and on the ability and fidelity with which he has executed his task. Of the Author's deep interest in the subjects which he has discussed, no one can fail to perceive the proofs, in the minute and careful attention which every passage of importance has received at his hands. His anxiety to preserve others from error and misapprehension is evinced by the cautious spirit with which, as a guide to truth, he advances towards his conclusions, and in the reasonings by which, as so many way-marks, we are enabled to trace and follow him in his progress. That those who should follow him would always be conducted to the desirable verity, is more than we are disposed either to presume or to report; but, as he never makes demands of submission or deference to authority, the cases which suggest doubt and hesitation, are always to be perceived. If we do not find that our resting-place is truth, we obtain, at every pause, the means of renewing, with advantage, our inquiries after it. Mr. Stuart is not a theological dogmatist or sectarian. He does not, at the commencement of his remarks, declare himself in favour of an adopted system, and then labour, at all hazards, to maintain it. There is probably no system, numerous and various as systems are, with which his opinions would be found constantly in agreement. His modes of thinking and his declarations of sentiment are those of an independent mind.

The present edition of Mr. Stuart's work is printed under the care of the English publishers, in conformity with the express appointment of the Author, and is introduced to the notice of the religious public of this country, by Drs. J. P. Smith and E. Henderson, from whose preface we extract the following commendatory paragraphs.

'I shall be excused for taking upon me to say, that this volume will be found especially useful to students for the Christian ministry, and to young ministers. Besides the more obvious qualities of a valuable book, it furnishes a course of practical lessons, and is itself an ample illustration, upon the indispensable rule of solid exposition, that we should possess our minds with a clear conception of the general design of an argumentative work, and of the scope of the larger parts which compose the whole, and are subordinate to its ultimate end; and that the resolution of sentences, and the interpretation of the clauses and terms which form them, must proceed under the direction of that comprehensive and commanding view. Should it be objected that we have no means of acquiring that total comprehension, except through the investigation of the component parts, we reply, that such investigation needs not to be, in the first instance, anxiously

minute, and that a rapid yet closely attentive reading through of a single and brief composition will put us into possession of this general view. As, in the entire domain of nature and providence, there is an action and a re-action which accompany each other, so in the example of this Commentary, the reader will see the process in both ways, and will find that both the analysis and the synthesis, in the work of exposition, elucidate and prove each other.' *J. P. Smith.*

'The exquisite tact which the author displays, in exhibiting the finer shades of difference which exist in the phraseology characteristic of the classic and sacred writers, especially of Paul; his discriminating judgement in reference to the significations of the prepositions, in certain connexions, and governing the different cases of nouns; the minute accuracy with which he weighs and adjusts the force of the numerous particles employed for the purposes of illustration, confirmation, transition, &c., on the right construction of which so much depends; and the close and rigid attention which he pays to the course of thought, the management of the argument, the scope, connexion, historical and other circumstances, clearly evince him to be a master in this department of sacred science. To some he may appear to expend himself too largely in critical and philological research, and to furnish comparatively little in the way of general comment, or theological discussion; but this, in my opinion, constitutes his peculiar excellence. He clears the ground, and presents his readers with the necessary exegetical materials, or the approved results of their application, and leaves it to each, according to his ability and the exigency of his circumstances, to rear his own superstructure. On some of the *loci vexati*, he has entered into more lengthened remarks, and added several important excursus; which display at once his extensive acquaintance with the controversies which have so long and so warmly agitated the Christian world; and that clearness, vigour, and independence of thought, combined with candour and freedom from dogmatism, which are of such essential moment, both in the pursuit and the communication of truth.' *E. Henderson.*

We cordially unite with these learned friends of the Author, in their recommendation of his present work as an important accession to our Biblical literature. Dr. Smith has recorded his dissent from some of the positions maintained in the Commentary; nor was it to be expected that the approbation of a work of this kind, how warmly soever expressed, should include the sanction of every statement and of every interpretation which may be found in it. Every judicious critic may not qualify his general commendation of the labours of Mr. Stuart in the present instance, in the same manner; but the claims which they seem to convey, in the results before us, to very exalted praise, will be somewhat abated in our examination of them. Commonly received interpretations are sometimes exhibited with the formality of original explanation. Rhetorical and logical technicalities are much used by the Author, and give a pedantic appearance to his work. His criticisms are generally managed with ability where



important points are under discussion; but they are sometimes almost unnecessarily introduced, and are occasionally more diffuse and minute than their application required. It must be remembered, however, by the readers of this work, that the matter of the Commentary was originally delivered in the form of academical lectures in the Theological Seminary at Andover (U. S.), and that it is published for the use of '*beginners* in the study of '*interpretation.*'

We shall extract a specimen of the translation, accompanied with some portions of the corresponding Commentary, and adding such remarks as they have suggested to us in our perusal of them.

1. 'PAUL, a servant of Jesus Christ, a chosen apostle, set apart for
2. the gospel of God, which he formerly published by his prophets in
3. the holy scriptures, concerning his Son, (who was of the seed of
4. David as to the flesh, [and] was constituted the Son of God with
5. power as to his holy spiritual nature, after his resurrection from
6. the dead), Jesus Christ our Lord, (by whom we have received
7. grace and the office of an apostle, in order to promote the obedience
8. of faith among all nations, for his name's sake, among whom are
9. ye also, called of Jesus Christ,) to all who are at Rome, beloved of
10. God, chosen saints; grace be unto you, and peace from God our
11. Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.
12. 'First, I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, on account of
13. you all, that your faith is spoken of in all the world. For God is
14. my witness, whom I truly serve in the gospel of his Son, how
15. unceasingly I make remembrance of you, always asking in my
16. prayers, that at some time or other, if possible before long, I may
17. (God willing) make a prosperous journey, and come to you. For
18. I am desirous to see you, in order to bestow on you some spiritual
19. favour, so that you may be confirmed. This is also [my desire],
20. to be comforted among you by the mutual faith both of you and
21. me.
22. 'Moreover I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that I have
23. often purposed to come unto you, (but have been hindered until
24. now,) that I might have some fruit among you, as also among
25. other Gentiles. I am a debtor to both Greeks and barbarians, to
26. both the learned and the unlearned: such being the case, I am
27. ready, according to my ability, to preach the gospel even to you
28. who are at Rome.
29. ['Subjects of consideration proposed, which constitute the dis-
30. tinguishing traits of the gospel.]
31. 'For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, since it is the
32. power of God unto the salvation of every one that believeth; to
33. the Jew first, and then to the Greek. For the justification which
34. is of God, is revealed by it, [justification] by faith, in order that
35. we may believe, as it is written: "The just shall live by faith."
36. Moreover the wrath of God from heaven is revealed against all

ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men who hinder the truth by unrighteousness.

Κλητός, lit. *called*, but the meaning here is, *chosen, invited*, viz., chosen to take upon him the office of an apostle; see Acts xxvi. 17, where the κλητός here is expressed by ἐξαίρουμένος σε, *I have taken thee out of, I have selected thee from*. The word κλητός sometimes has the sense merely of *invited, bidden*; e. g. Matt. xx. 16, xxii. 14. But in the writings of Paul, it is not used in the sense merely of *invited*, but always in the sense of *efficient calling*, as we say; i. e., it means not only that the person designated has been *invited* or *selected*, but that *he has accepted the invitation*; 1 Cor. i. 1, 2; 1 Cor. i. 24; Rom. i. 6, 7; viii. 28; with which collate Gal. i. 15; Jude, ver. 1; Heb. iii. 1; Rom. xi. 29; Eph. iv. 1.

Ἀφωρισμένος . . . Θεοῦ, lit. *separated or set apart for the gospel of God*, i. e, chosen or selected in order to proclaim or preach the gospel of God, viz., that gospel of which God is the author, Θεοῦ being the *Genitivus auctoris*. The word ἀφωρισμένος seems intended to be epexegetical of κλητός, i. e., it expresses the same idea in different language. Hesychius explains ἀφωρισμένος by ἐκλεγμένος, *chosen*, διακεκριμένος, *selected*. In the same sense ἀφορίσαστε occurs in Acts xiii. 2. See the same sentiment in Gal. i. 15, Jer. i. 5. The meaning is, that God, who foreknows all things, did set him apart, choose, select him for the work of the gospel, even from the earliest period of his life, Gal. i. 15. So it is said of Jeremiah, that he was set apart, selected, for the prophetic office even before he was formed in his mother's womb; by all which expressions is meant, that God knows all persons and events before they exist or take place, and that he has a definite object in view which he intends to accomplish by them.

The term κλητός, *called*, receives no elucidation from the expression ἐξαίρουμένος σε, in Acts xxvi. 17, which is rendered by Mr. Stuart,—‘*I have taken thee out of*’—‘*I have selected thee from*,’—very improperly, in our judgement, though he is not the first by whom such a meaning has been put upon the words. In what manner are we to apprehend the sentiment, that the Apostle was selected from the people of the Jews and from the Gentiles? Chosen, selected from mankind, taken out of the Jewish nation, are intelligible phrases; but the specific mention of the people of the Jews and the Gentiles, in such a connection, is as unmeaning as it is contrary to usage. No doubt can be entertained by any one who fairly reads the passage, of the import of the terms, which are correctly given in the Common Version, ‘*Delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles*.’ So Calvin (*in loc.*): ‘*Eripiens te a populo. Hic armatur contra omnes metus, qui cum manebunt; et simul præparatur ad crucis tolerantiam*.’ All the ancient Versions read ‘*delivering from*.’ In the New Testament, the verb ἐξαίρω is never used in the sense of ‘*to choose*.’ In the Septuagint, the participle, ἐξαίρουμένος



is of frequent occurrence, but always as meaning to extricate from, 'to deliver from.'

The word ἀφωρισμένος seems intended, Mr. Stuart remarks, to be epexegetical of κλητός: it expresses the same idea in 'different language.' If, however, κλητός denotes 'chosen to take upon him the office of an Apostle,' and the meaning of it be, not only that the person designated has been invited or selected, but that he has *accepted* the invitation, the notion that God, who foreknows all things, did set apart the Apostle, did choose and select him for the work of the gospel, even from the earliest period of his life, cannot be conveyed by the term κλητός. Mr. Stuart's previous definition of it refers the calling which it imports, to the precise time of the Apostle's actual appointment to the apostolic office. The Apostle could not accept an invitation before he existed. Κλητός and ἀφωρισμένος, therefore, as respectively explained by Mr. Stuart, do not express the same idea in different language; they express different ideas, and refer to different times. There is, perhaps, too much refinement in the Author's remarks; and the 'calling' and the 'separation' may with more probability be referred to the time of the Apostle's conversion and appointment to the evangelic ministry, of which he has himself given so interesting an account in his address before Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 15—18.

—'Which he formerly published by his prophets in the holy scriptures.' Our English Version, Mr. Stuart remarks, does not give the proper meaning of the original word, προεπηγγείλατο, *promised afore*. We see no reason for adopting either Mr. Stuart's opinion of the English Version, or the reading which he has given instead of it. The word is correctly rendered "*promised afore*." With this, the Vulgate and the Versions agree, *ante promiserat*, and the modern translators read in accordance with the ancient. Επεγγείλατο is always, in the New Testament, used in the manner in which the Common Version in the instance before us represents its meaning, *he promised*; and the preposition *πρὸ*, only refers to one time as compared with another: the English Version, therefore, is correct in rendering "*he had promised afore*." Many intimations were given, many predictions were uttered by the prophets in the holy Scriptures, in reference to the dispensation of grace which the Messiah was to introduce and establish, and to these the Apostle unquestionably alludes in the present passage; but the gospel was not, in any true and proper sense, "*published*" before his coming. The compound word can be understood only of a previous announcement in respect to some object afterwards to be fully disclosed.

Ὁραθέντος is rendered by Mr. Stuart, "*constituted*"; and he is at much pains in his notes to support this translation, though he enumerates the other senses in which the word in its present

connection has been explained. To constitute, is to give formal existence to an object ; to make it what it was not previously. But our Lord Jesus Christ was not constituted the Son of God after his resurrection : he was so before. Mr. Stuart, however, endeavours to obviate this objection, by alleging that our Lord was not the Son of God with power, until after his resurrection. ' He was ' not the Son of God *ἐν δυνάμει*, in the sense here meant, until ' after his ascension to the right hand of the Majesty on high.' But, if *ἐν δυνάμει* be taken to qualify *υἱοῦ θεοῦ*, the meaning of the expression *ὁρισθέντος*, so explained, will then refer to Christ as being constituted the Son of God. As *τοῦ γενομένου* is connected with *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ*, so is *τοῦ ὁρισθέντος* with *υἱοῦ Θεοῦ*. Unless, then, our Lord was Son of God only subsequently to his resurrection, the rendering ' constituted ' would seem to be inadmissible. We do not deny that *ἐν δυνάμει* is, in its position, an expression of some difficulty ; nor do we consider the whole passage otherwise than as one of intricacy and trial to a critic ; but our objections to Mr. Stuart's version and explanation are not diminished as we proceed with his commentary.

' If we should construe the phrase thus, as some do ; " Declared to be the Son of God with power, by the Holy Spirit, on account of (by) his resurrection from the dead " ; one might then ask : How could the *resurrection* declare, in any special manner, that Christ was the Son of God ? Was not Lazarus raised from the dead ? Were not others raised from the dead, by Christ, by the Apostles, by Elijah, and by the bones of Elisha ? And yet was their resurrection proof, that they were the Sons of God ? God did indeed prepare the way for universal dominion to be given to Christ, by raising him from the dead. To the like purpose is the apostle's assertion in Acts xvii. 31. But how an event common to him, to Lazarus, and to many others, could of itself demonstrate him to be the Son of God *ἐν δυνάμει*—remains yet to be shewn.'

Mr. Stuart regards these as very forcible questions : to us, they appear to be very extraordinary ones, involving very serious consequences, and indicating a very slight consideration of the subject to which they relate. Lazarus was raised from the dead. The widow's son of Nain was restored to life. Dorcas was brought back to life, by Peter ; Eutychus, by Paul. The widow of Zarephath received her son raised to life by Elijah. But are we to describe these miraculous changes as being on a parity with our Lord's resurrection ? There is no propriety in comparing the former with the latter. What did the resurrection of Lazarus prove in respect to himself ? Nothing. It was his restoration to an earthly existence, but it furnished no confirmation of either his sayings or his actions. It was a demonstration of both the human affection and the Divine power of Christ. It was an



event of great importance as illustrating the glory of the Messiah; but it is without relations of high and solemn interest in reference to the character of its subject. He rose at the command and by the agency of another. But our Lord's resurrection was altogether of a different kind. It was without the interposition of a visible agent. No testimony was borne by it to the truth of another's pretensions. Lazarus, and Dorcas, and the others obtained only a temporary release from the power of death; they returned again to the dominion of the king of terrors. But "Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over him". Our Lord's resurrection was predicted; he himself foretold it,—“the third day he shall rise again”; it was, therefore, necessary to complete the proofs of his Divine mission, and to establish the truth of his doctrines. He was the Son of God previously to his crucifixion. This title he claimed, and received the acknowledgement of it, before he suffered. His resurrection, therefore, confirming all his declarations, being the great and essential proof of their truth, confirmed this, that he was the Son of God. “With great power the Apostles gave witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus”. They declared: “God hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.” If, then, before his resurrection he was the Son of God, his resurrection added to the force of all the previous demonstrations which established his claim to this title of eminence and dignity, and was a new and original testimony of its truth. “He was declared to be the Son of God with power by his resurrection from the dead.”

To the circumstances of this illustrious event, to which the New Testament is replete with direct references and allusions, there is nothing similar in the raising to life of Lazarus, or of other men, recalled for a time to existence in the world. Their resurrection certainly was no proof that they were the Sons of God, because, in the sense intended, the title never belonged to them; and because their being raised was altogether distinct and apart from any considerations of truth or power, in them, as the attributes of a prophetic character, or the demonstrations of a Divine mission. In raising the widow's son at Zarephath, Elijah's action was such as shewed him to be a prophet of the Lord. The body of the child quickened and resuming the functions of vitality, was a testimony in direct relation to the character of the man of God; but proved nothing in regard to the resuscitated subject of the miracle. No ultimate purpose was included, as no antecedent circumstances were implicated, in the restoration of the child to life. If the child had not been raised from the state of death, the whole of the previous incidents in its life had remained unaffected. Not one of them was to be estimated by the

connection has been explained. To constitute, is to give formal existence to an object ; to make it what it was not previously. But our Lord Jesus Christ was not constituted the Son of God after his resurrection : he was so before. Mr. Stuart, however, endeavours to obviate this objection, by alleging that our Lord was not the Son of God with power, until after his resurrection. ' He was ' not the Son of God *ἐν δυνάμει*, in the sense here meant, until ' after his ascension to the right hand of the Majesty on high.' But, if *ἐν δυνάμει* be taken to qualify *υἱοῦ θεοῦ*, the meaning of the expression *ὁρισθέντος*, so explained, will then refer to Christ as being constituted the Son of God. As *τοῦ γενομένου* is connected with *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ*, so is *τοῦ ὁρισθέντος* with *υἱοῦ Θεοῦ*. Unless, then, our Lord was Son of God only subsequently to his resurrection, the rendering ' constituted ' would seem to be inadmissible. We do not deny that *ἐν δυνάμει* is, in its position, an expression of some difficulty ; nor do we consider the whole passage otherwise than as one of intricacy and trial to a critic ; but our objections to Mr. Stuart's version and explanation are not diminished as we proceed with his commentary.

' If we should construe the phrase thus, as some do ; " Declared to be the Son of God with power, by the Holy Spirit, on account of (by) his resurrection from the dead " ; one might then ask : How could the *resurrection* declare, in any special manner, that Christ was the Son of God ? Was not Lazarus raised from the dead ? Were not others raised from the dead, by Christ, by the Apostles, by Elijah, and by the bones of Elisha ? And yet was their resurrection proof, that they were the Sons of God ? God did indeed prepare the way for universal dominion to be given to Christ, by raising him from the dead. To the like purpose is the apostle's assertion in Acts xvii. 31. But how an event common to him, to Lazarus, and to many others, could of itself demonstrate him to be the Son of God *ἐν δυνάμει*—remains yet to be shewn.'

Mr. Stuart regards these as very forcible questions : to us, they appear to be very extraordinary ones, involving very serious consequences, and indicating a very slight consideration of the subject to which they relate. Lazarus was raised from the dead. The widow's son of Nain was restored to life. Dorcas was brought back to life, by Peter ; Eutychus, by Paul. The widow of Zarephath received her son raised to life by Elijah. But are we to describe these miraculous changes as being on a parity with our Lord's resurrection ? There is no propriety in comparing the former with the latter. What did the resurrection of Lazarus prove in respect to himself ? Nothing. It was his restoration to an earthly existence, but it furnished no confirmation of either his sayings or his actions. It was a demonstration of both the human affection and the Divine power of Christ. It was an



event of great importance as illustrating the glory of the Messiah; but it is without relations of high and solemn interest in reference to the character of its subject. He rose at the command and by the agency of another. But our Lord's resurrection was altogether of a different kind. It was without the interposition of a visible agent. No testimony was borne by it to the truth of another's pretensions. Lazarus, and Dorcas, and the others obtained only a temporary release from the power of death; they returned again to the dominion of the king of terrors. But "Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over him". Our Lord's resurrection was predicted; he himself foretold it,—“the third day he shall rise again”; it was, therefore, necessary to complete the proofs of his Divine mission, and to establish the truth of his doctrines. He was the Son of God previously to his crucifixion. This title he claimed, and received the acknowledgement of it, before he suffered. His resurrection, therefore, confirming all his declarations, being the great and essential proof of their truth, confirmed this, that he was the Son of God. “With great power the Apostles gave witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus”. They declared: “God hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.” If, then, before his resurrection he was the Son of God, his resurrection added to the force of all the previous demonstrations which established his claim to this title of eminence and dignity, and was a new and original testimony of its truth. “He was declared to be the Son of God with power by his resurrection from the dead.”

To the circumstances of this illustrious event, to which the New Testament is replete with direct references and allusions, there is nothing similar in the raising to life of Lazarus, or of other men, recalled for a time to existence in the world. Their resurrection certainly was no proof that they were the Sons of God, because, in the sense intended, the title never belonged to them; and because their being raised was altogether distinct and apart from any considerations of truth or power, in them, as the attributes of a prophetic character, or the demonstrations of a Divine mission. In raising the widow's son at Zarephath, Elijah's action was such as shewed him to be a prophet of the Lord. The body of the child quickened and resuming the functions of vitality, was a testimony in direct relation to the character of the man of God; but proved nothing in regard to the resuscitated subject of the miracle. No ultimate purpose was included, as no antecedent circumstances were implicated, in the restoration of the child to life. If the child had not been raised from the state of death, the whole of the previous incidents in its life had remained unaffected. Not one of them was to be estimated by the

event. So, in respect to Lazarus, whether he remained in the grave, or was recalled from its oblivious sleep, was of no consequence whatever, in connection with his reputation or his pretensions. But how entirely different was the case of our Lord! "If Christ be not risen, our faith is vain." How then did he rise? Not as Lazarus, nor as any other who was raised from the dead in a similar manner. Whatever were our Lord's distinguishing claims and superiority over all others, in nature and in character, they were all confirmed by his resurrection. That event is constantly represented in the New Testament in this exclusive and transcendently glorious connection.

—"As to his holy spiritual nature."—We object to this as a rendering of the phrase, *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης*, which the common version very properly exhibits in the most literal form, 'according to the spirit of holiness.' Macknight adopts the reading, 'With respect to his holy spiritual nature,' in his commentary; but, in his translation he retains the common reading, 'With respect to the spirit of holiness.' Whatever may be the import of the original expression, no translation of it can be admissible which deviates so much from the literal signification of its terms as the form in which Mr. Stuart's page presents it. Every such passage as this should be literally exhibited by a translator; and almost all translators have, in this instance, adhered to their professed obligation to make their version a transcript of the original text. The vulgate reads *secundum spiritum sanctificationis*, with which the early English versions accord—"after the spirit that sanctifieth." Beza has, '*Spiritum Sanctitatis*.' The phrase is altogether a remarkable one: it occurs only in this place, and is of difficult explanation. It is, however, the business of an expositor, not of a translator, to determine its meaning; and Mr. Stuart's exegetical note will be more favourably received than his version by those who, like ourselves, may object to his translation, but wish to see a fair statement of the difficulties attending the criticism of the text.

'*Κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης*—like every other expression in this verse, is contested. Some translate, *by the Holy Spirit*; and some, *by a holy spirit*, i. e. divine and miraculous power. A third party construe *πνεῦμα* here, as designating the higher nature or condition of Christ, i. e. his *pneumatic* nature or condition, if I may so express it.

'Schleusner, Flatt, Bengel, and others, find in *ἁγιωσύνη* a meaning designedly different from that of *ἁγιότης* or *ἁγιασμός*. Thus Bengel: "*ἁγιότης sanctitas, ἁγιασμός sanctificatio, ἁγιωσύνη sanctimonia*." But this seems to be imaginary; for even in Latin, *sanctimonia* and *sanctitas* differ only in form, not in sense. In Greek, as there is no difference between *ἀγαθωσύνη* and *ἀγαθότης*, so there appears to be none between *ἁγιωσύνη*, and *ἁγιότης*. The seventy use *ἁγιωσύνη* for *יָצַח*, strength, in Ps. xcvi. 6 (xcv. 6); for *שִׁיחַ* in Ps. xcvi. 12 (xcvi. 12);



and for הַר in Ps. cxlv. 5 (cxliv. 5.) But as πνεῦμα, so often called πνεῦμα ἅγιον, is here joined with ἁγιωσύνης, I cannot doubt that the word ἁγιωσύνης is here employed in the place of the adjective ἅγιος (like קֹדֶשׁ in קְדֻשָּׁתִּי הַר, i. e. *my holy mountain*). So the genitive case of nouns is employed, in almost innumerable instances. If we may conjecture a reason why the apostle here preferred ἁγιωσύνης to ἅγιος, we might say, that it was because he wished to avoid the dubious meaning which ἅγιος would seem to give to the passage, as the reader would more naturally refer this epithet to divine influence, or to the Holy Spirit.

But why should not one of the two first-named senses of ἁγιωσύνης be adopted? I answer: Because there is *contra-distinction* (not *antithesis* in the strict sense of the word, for it is *climax* here instead of *antithesis*) between κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα. Christ, κατὰ σάρκα, was a king of David's race; Christ, κατὰ πνεῦμα, was king in glory above, at the right hand of God. Such being the obvious meaning of the passage, I must reject the two first interpretations of ἁγιωσύνης, just mentioned. Those meanings are liable to serious objections; for if you say, that κατὰ πνεῦμα means *divine miraculous power*; then how, I ask, could this demonstrate that Christ was the Son of God, when he himself declares, that his disciples, after his death, shall do *greater* miracles than he had done? If you say that it means the Holy Spirit, as raising Christ from the dead (ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν), then this is contrary to the analogy of the Scripture, which represents God the Father as raising up Christ from the dead, Rom. vi. 4. viii. 11. Acts ii. 24. 2 Cor. xiii. 4. Besides, how could the being raised from the dead be proof, as Flatt intimates, of the divine nature of Christ, since Lazarus and many others had also been raised from the dead? But what is more than all, the evident *contra-distinction* between κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα is wholly laid aside, by either of those methods of interpretation; which of itself is adequate reason for rejecting them.

We come then to the third position, viz. that πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης designates Christ in his higher or *pneumatic* state or condition. But is this analogical? Is πνεῦμα elsewhere applied to Christ in the like way?

That πνεῦμα is applied directly to Christ, seems clear from 2 Cor. iii. 17., ὁ κυριος [Χριστός] τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι· and in verse 18, κυριου πνευματος. The appellation πνεῦμα is probably applied to Christ here, as the bestower of πνεῦμα. Again, in Heb. ix. 14., Christ is said to have offered himself, in the heavenly temple, a spotless victim to God διὰ πνευματος αἰωνίου, in his *everlasting pneumatic* or glorified state. This passage does not seem fairly susceptible of any other meaning, when one compares it with verses 11, 12, which precede, and with the analogy of Scripture; διὰ here being διὰ conditionis.

In 1 Peter iii. 18, the apostle speaking of Christ says, that he was θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι where he apparently uses the very same *contra-distinction* which Paul makes use of in the verse before us. What can be the meaning of πνεῦμα, then, in such examples, if it be not the *pneumatic state* or *condition* or *nature* of the Saviour, i. e. his exalted and glorious state or nature? The word ζωοποιηθεὶς, as here used, seems not to indicate *restored to life*, (for in what

sense can this be literally applied to the πνεῦμα of Christ, even if πνεῦμα mean nothing more than his human soul?) but rendered happy, exalted to a state of glory; Com. Ch. iv. 1, where παθόντος is put for θανατωθείς in iii. 18, and is the antithesis of ζωοποιηθείς, used in the sense just explained.

‘If I rightly comprehend the meaning of these expressions as applied to Christ, the sense of the whole clause on which I have been commenting, is:—“Of royal descent, even of David’s lineage, as to his incarnate state (λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο): the Son of God clothed with supreme dominion, in his pneumatic, i. e. exalted and glorified state.”

‘That both clauses, viz. that which describes his state κατὰ σάρκα, and that which describes his state κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, are designed to describe the dignity of the Saviour, seems altogether clear. Not antithesis then, but climax, seems to be here intended. So, with Tholuck, I understand the passage; and I have interpreted it accordingly. I do not say that an ingenious critic can raise no difficulties with respect to this interpretation; but I cannot help thinking, that they are much less than attend any other method of exegesis which has yet been adopted.’ pp. 67—69.

These criticisms must, we apprehend, be pronounced to be more elaborate than substantial. They are an attempt to explain a difficult passage, by illustrations derived from passages which are themselves of difficult interpretation. We do not claim to be considered as ingenious critics, but we think that the objections which have suggested themselves to us in accompanying Mr. Stuart through the preceding exegesis, are not of less moment than are those which attend some other modes of considering the text under discussion. We cannot think that κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα are there put in contra-distinction; the former, as denoting ‘a King of David’s race,’ the latter, a ‘King of Glory above, ‘at the right hand of God.’ As of David’s race, our Lord never was a king. We can never understand the Scriptures which speak of Christ’s kingly character and power, in any other than a spiritual sense. Κατὰ σάρκα we are not able to explain as designed to describe the dignity of the Saviour: it relates not to his exaltation, but his humiliation. Our Lord’s declaration shews us that he was not a king, as of David’s race, “My Kingdom is not of this world.” Luke i. 32,—“The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end,”—must be explained of a spiritual, not of a temporal sovereignty; of a heavenly, not of an earthly dominion. So, in Acts ii. 30.—“David being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα), he would raise up Christ to sit upon his throne. He seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ.” So, Chap. xiii. 22, “He raised up unto them David to be their king—of this man’s seed hath



God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour Jesus." What our Lord was *κατὰ σάρκα*, he was not in any respect *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. By the one, he was *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ*; by the other, he was *ἰσος θεοῦ*. Being 'a king' is not at all included in the meaning of *κατὰ σάρκα*. The only sense in which *that* can be predicated of our Lord, is as he is 'king in glory 'above.'

Mr. Stuart asks, how *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, in the sense of *divine miraculous power*, can demonstrate that Christ was the Son of God, when he himself declares, that his disciples, after his death, shall do *greater* miracles than he had done? But, in answer to this, it may properly be replied, that our Lord's resurrection was a demonstration of divine, miraculous power *sui generis*. In the passage, John xiv. 12, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto my Father,"—the reference is to the miracles wrought by Christ, which in kind, generally, were renewed in the ministry of the Apostles, and to the effects following the donation of the Holy Spirit after his ascension. These last were the greater works. But the resurrection of our Lord had no reference either to his own miracles, or to those of his Apostles. He does not declare that any greater event than his own resurrection should take place in the acts or within the knowledge of his Apostles, in the period subsequent to his going unto his Father. If, then, *κατὰ πνεῦμα* be explained in the sense of *divine miraculous power* employed in Christ's resurrection, he might be thus demonstrated to be the Son of God, though the miracles wrought by his disciples were greater than those which distinguished our Lord's ministry.

(To be continued.)

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Art. IV. *The Designs of the Dissenters*.—A Letter to the King. By a Protestant Dissenter. 8vo. pp. 48. London, 1834.

'THE King,' says the Author of this very able Pamphlet, 'cannot but feel concerned to know, and ought to be informed, 'what are the designs of so large and important a portion of his 'subjects.' The Protestant Dissenters of Great Britain, we can venture to add, are not only willing, but anxious that his Majesty should be put in full possession of all their views and projects. They are neither plotters against the dignity of the Crown, nor vexatious disturbers of the public tranquillity. They have every thing to hope, and nothing to fear from publicity. Whenever their claims come to be fairly investigated, their grievances will be quickly redressed. It will then only be matter of surprise, that

they should so long and so patiently have submitted to disabilities and restrictions, which are at the best but 'the relics of an exploded legislation, the evil bequest of deceased bigotry.'

The object of the Pamphlet now under notice, is chiefly to vindicate the Dissenters from those ungenerous imputations by which misjudging alarmists and hostile partizans have endeavoured to prejudice their cause. In attempting this important service, the Writer undertakes, in the first instance, to state what are *not* the designs of the Dissenters, and afterwards to disclose the actual nature and extent of the changes they wish to effect in the present constitution of Church and State. Some of these we shall simply enumerate; others are of sufficient importance to demand a more extended notice. The first disclaimer is one which can never be too frequently urged, viz., 'that *Dissenters do not seek the destruction of the Episcopal Church.*' On this subject, the Pamphlet shall speak for itself.

'Such a project as this, it would not have been necessary to disclaim, had they not been charged with the most injurious and violent designs. Having so much in common with the Episcopal Church as regards her Protestant testimony, her avowed creed, her standard theology, is it conceivable that Protestants of another communion should wish to see that Church of the Reformation destroyed, from the bosom of which they have sprung, and to whose brightest ornaments they look back as to their common ancestry? The Church may, it is true, be viewed under very different aspects,—as a religious society, as an order of clergy, as a corporate political body, as an estate of the realm, or again, as a mere State provision for the instruction of the people, irrespective of any form of ecclesiastical polity. Language which might sound hostile to the Church under some of these aspects, would not necessarily imply any wish to injure her essential interests. The Church has, like the British Constitution, survived the destruction of much that was once thought to belong to her vitality, but which has proved to have been a mere parasitical appendage, a picturesque mischief. The Church of England, as an estate or corporate body, has sustained a very material abridgement of her substantive legislative power, and of her original prerogatives; yet, no evil has resulted from the change. As a distinct estate of the realm, the Church can scarcely be said to retain any thing but the shadow of political existence, since its convocations have been deprived of their legislative functions; for the prelates do not sit in the House of Peers as representatives of the clergy, but as their rulers, invested with baronial dignity. The Toleration Act has destroyed the corporate monopoly of the Church, which was once thought essential to its existence; and there are churchmen who contend that the repeal of the Sacramental test has destroyed the very principle of the alliance between the Church and the State. It is evident, however, that the only alliance destroyed by that measure, was of an illicit character, since it was opposed to sound notions of religious liberty and political justice. And if the interests of religion, and the true interests of the



Church itself, are thought to demand a total separation between things civil and things sacred, in the political constitution of the Church, those who hold the opinion that such a separation would be beneficial to both the Church and the State, ought not to be suspected of aiming at the destruction of either.'

'Language may have been used by individuals in reference to the Church as a political opponent, which was never meant to apply to the Church as a religious institution. The religion of the Church is the religion of the Dissenters. They desire to see destroyed nothing that is religious in the Church; nothing that they believe to be conducive to its religious efficiency. Nay, so long as an Ecclesiastical Establishment exists in this country, they have no wish to see any other Church substituted as the dominant one for the Church of England. They would moreover deprecate as strongly as her most zealous and devoted members, any scheme of reform or comprehension that should lower the doctrinal standard of her faith, or render equivocal her testimony in favour of the cardinal Articles of the Reformation. They have no sympathy with the spurious liberality that would confound all creeds, or merge in vague generalities all that is distinguishing in Christianity. Whatever the Church of England may have to fear in this respect from other quarters, she is exposed to no peril from the main body of Protestant Dissenters, whose objections against the Establishment are mitigated only by their concurrence in the fundamental doctrines which the Church Established maintains and proclaims. They regard the Church, though not the Establishment, as a bulwark of the national faith. They distinguish between the institution and what they regard as its political predicament. If to abolish the Establishment were to destroy the Church, the accusations of their adversaries might be more plausible. But, if that which seems to support the Church, can be made to appear not a buttress, but only a superincumbent weight upon the edifice,—if, in fact, it be the Church that supports the Establishment, not the Establishment the Church,—if the alliance that unites it with the State be that of bondage, rather than of protection,—then may Dissenters continue to hold their present opinions without being chargeable with seeking the destruction of the Church.' pp. 9—14.

We believe this to be a fair exposition of the views and feelings of the main body of Protestant Nonconformists. Without presuming to speak in the name of the millions of Dissenters, the Writer lays claim to an intimate acquaintance with their avowed opinions and prevailing sentiments; and on the strength of this, ventures to lay down the following propositions, the truth of which we presume no one acquainted with facts will attempt to dispute. We shall state them consecutively.

'Dissenters, whatever their opinions may be, do not aim to accomplish by any violent measures those changes which appear to them desirable.'

'Dissenters do not design, do not desire, to obtain admission into the Church.'

‘Dissenters do not design or wish to interfere in the Reform of the Church.’

‘Dissenters have abstained, as a body, from mixing up with their grievances the question relating to Church Property.’

‘Dissenters are not opposed to the legitimate connexion between Religion and the State.’

The first of these positions seems scarcely to admit of being sustained by grave argument. The man who pretends to believe that the Dissenters are careless about the preservation of social order, is too absurd to be reasoned with. Of all classes, they are perhaps most interested in its maintenance;—they, above all others, would suffer most deeply by its being disturbed. But where is the danger of any such calamity? ‘The British monarchy’ (as the Writer of the pamphlet before us very justly observes)

‘experienced no shock, nor suffered any diminution of its substantial power, when the title of King of France, which had for ages been claimed by the Kings of England, was laid aside. Nor would the Constitutional Sovereignty of the Crown be shorn of any of its prerogatives, if the empty title of Defender of the Faith were discarded as unsuitable to a Protestant King, and that of Head of the Church were resigned to Him who is Head over all, the King of Kings, the Sovereign Ruler of Princes.’

The amount of *gain* (or rather of loss) which would accrue to Dissenters from any scheme of comprehension, even if such were practicable, is very well put.

‘What has the Church to offer to the Dissenters but a yoke, which neither they nor their fathers have been able to bear? The chances of splendid preferment, or the secular consideration attaching to the office of a clergyman, may present powerful temptations to conformity in the case of unworthy individuals; but what inducements can be held forth to Dissenting ministers as a body? What provision can be offered them more ample or secure than they now enjoy, when the Establishment is unable to provide for her own curates a stipend equal to the average salary of the humbler classes of Dissenting teachers? What prospect of increased usefulness would present itself within the pale of the Establishment, when a majority of the population remain without its walls? Or how could they hope to escape from the dissensions and divisions which some persons represent to be attendant upon the congregational polity, by taking shelter within a Church which is, at this moment, at once the object of assault and the arena of contention; the cry for reform being heard from within, the demand for redress from without! The Church shut out the Dissenters when they were comparatively few: if she would admit them now, they are too many. She could not make room for them. They would embarrass her by their return; they would overwhelm her with their support; and the notions and habits which these active sectaries would bring back with



them, accustomed as they long have been to the free use of their consciences and their bibles, would tend to revolutionize the Church. No ; Dissenters have no wish to re-enter the Church ; and the Church will find them more valuable as friendly allies, than she could do as subjects, were it even possible to constrain or to win their admission.'

pp. 18—20.

With regard to the connexion which ought to exist between Religion and the State, Dissenters, it is urged, do not in the main differ from pious members of Established Churches. The differences, whatever they may be, relate to the means, rather than the end.

' They conceive that the Catholic recognition of Christianity by the State is a duty of paramount obligation, but that this is incompatible with the enforcement of one particular form of Church polity upon the community, or with a preference, on the part of the State, of a particular sect. They refer to the example of the nation of the United States, who have retained the Christian religion as the foundation of their civil, legal, and political union, while they have refused to continue a legislative preference of any particular sect, and have, after trial in many of the States, entirely abolished a State provision as injurious to the interests it was designed to foster. Dissenters have arrived at their convictions upon these points, by no process of hypothetical reasoning, but by experience and deduction from fact. They behold religion flourishing in America without an Establishment, to an extent which admits of no comparison with any country under heaven except their own ; while, in the sister kingdom, the wealthiest Ecclesiastical Establishment in Europe is seen co-existing with the most frightful degree of popular ignorance and social disorder. Nothing, therefore, can be more remote from their designs, than the weakening of the legitimate ties between Religion and Government ; and to class them with the enemies of the Christian faith, who may from opposite motives be hostile to religious establishments, is to commit as gross an offence against truth and charity as the first persecutors of Christianity were guilty of, in confounding the disciples of Christ with ringleaders of sedition and atheists, and in imputing to them the disturbance of the State and the burning of Rome. —pp. 23, 24.

Having thus disposed of the ' clanging brass and tinkling cymbals ' with which certain periodicals have of late made such sweet music, the Author undertakes to declare what are the actual designs of the parties referred to. He says:—' They embrace ' the following distinct objects, upon the attainment of which ' Dissenters are fully bent.'

' First—to obtain the full and entire establishment of their right to be placed on a civil equality with all classes of their fellow subjects in the eye of the Law and of the State.

' Secondly—to obtain a catholic recognition of the validity of their

ministry, and their equal claims to the protection of the Legislature in respect to all their ecclesiastical institutions.

‘Thirdly—to obtain the establishment of a national system of education on a broad and catholic basis.

‘Fourthly—to be allowed to prosecute their plans for propagating the Christian faith throughout the world upon the same scriptural principles.’—pp. 24, 25.

We can only make room for another extract or two, taken at random. Our readers must buy the pamphlet. It will be a shilling well laid out.

‘Can the Dissenters be expected to endure it patiently, that, when the Legislature has proclaimed their emancipation from every unrighteous restriction, the Church should jealously blockade every avenue to advancement, and monopolize the favour of the State? The Constitutional rights of the Dissenters are equal to those of the Conformists; in the eye of the Law they are now equal; they sit as legislators in the same chamber; their religion is, not less than that of the Episcopalian churchmen, part and parcel of the law of the land; their Protestantism is as Protestant as that of the Established Church; their political principles are not less British; their loyalty is as unimpeachable. What, then, hinders their being in all respects on a par with their fellow-subjects who worship in the churches of the Establishment? It is this; that the distinctions of Ecclesiastical caste have survived the abolition of intolerant statutes, and that these are perpetuated by the monopoly of privilege still unjustly continued to the members of the Episcopal communion.

“‘If,” says the Regius Divinity Professor of Oxford, “Dissenters, when they call for a formal and legislative separation between the Church and the State, mean that they are not now on a level with the Church of England, I am afraid that it is beyond the power of Parliament to give them relief.” They *do* mean this; and they are fully aware that Parliament cannot give them immediate and complete relief; and therefore they have confined their petitions to those measures of relief which it falls within the competency of Parliament at once to grant.’.....

‘They *do* aspire to be placed on a political level with the Church of England. The time is not long gone by, when a Dissenter might be a legislator, but not an exciseman or a schoolmaster. They look forward to the period as rapidly approaching, when a Dissenter may even be admitted a member of the College of Physicians, or a King’s Counsel. Time was, when no Nonconformist could be a member of a borough corporation: they are so ambitious as to desire that their sovereign might even be empowered to summon them to his council or his cabinet. Hitherto, all literary honours have been denied, in the ancient seats of learning, to the man of science who was sufficiently in earnest about religion to attach himself to a Dissenting sect. Oxford has conferred her diplomas upon generals and princes, but has withheld them from those “whose praise is in all the churches” save those



of the Establishment. Learned Dissenters have obtained merited marks of honour from the Universities of Scotland, and of America, and have been enrolled among the honorary members of foreign academies. But, in their own country, they have in vain sought to win even barren laurels from Sacerdotal intolerance. They have been made to feel that they belong to a caste, excommunicated by the Church, though tolerated by the State; and that they were, in the national seats of learning, foreigners who had no lot in Israel. Dissenters now look forward to a happier state of things, which will admit of their competing with their brethren of the Episcopal Church in the open lists of literary distinction, and of their receiving the generous homage of those who may worship at other altars. They are aware that Parliament cannot at once dissolve the cruel and barbarous prejudices which have become fixed in the habits of mind transmitted, like the gown and the cowl, from feudal times to the present. Parliament cannot compel bigots to be tolerant, or cloistered priests to be liberal. But Parliament can promote those reforms which will tend to break down these unsocial distinctions. It can deprive corporations of an unjust and abused monopoly. It can, by shewing equal favour to all parties, and by encouraging institutions of a more liberal and popular character, teach those who dream that they are living in the seventeenth century, that the reign of caste and ecclesiastical prerogative is past.

‘The social equality for which they contend, is such as should place the Conformist peasant on a level with the Dissenting peasant, the Conformist peer on a level with the Dissenting peer,—preserving the gradation of rank, annihilating the gradation of sect. Nay more, feeling as they do the interests of religion to be involved in their asserting an absolute equality with their fellow-subjects of the Established Church, in every spiritual relation arising out of their common faith, they cannot cease more especially to desire, that the Constitutional provision which excludes the ministers of religion from the Commons’ House, should be made applicable to the House of Peers. It was once deemed conducive to the interests of the Church and the State, that Prelates should be entrusted with the seals, should hold the helm of government, and preside in the seat of judicature; and in days not very remote, martial prelates have been found at the head of armies. Posterity will not deem it more incongruous, that bishops, entrusted with the spiritual oversight of an extensive diocese, should have been distinguished as leaders of parliamentary factions, caballing against an administration, and warring against the claims of the people.’

‘There is nothing which, as religious men, conscientiously attached to the form of worship and discipline transmitted to them by their fathers, Dissenters more poignantly feel, than the haughty contempt which is often expressed for the persons and functions of their spiritual pastors and guides. In no respect is the operation of the Establishment more galling. To veil the palpable injustice of exalting by artificial distinctions the ministers of one sect so far above those of another, recourse is had to an artifice which aggravates the injury. It is pretended that the Dissenting Ministers, as a body, owe their posi-

tion in society to their inferior attainments, competency, or moral respectability. A reason is sought for the political stigma in a vulgar calumny. In theological studies, in all that belongs to the qualifications for their spiritual function, Dissenting Ministers are, upon the average, far better furnished than the episcopal clergy; more attention being paid, in their academic education, to those branches of study which bear immediately on the business of the Christian ministry. Sacred oratory, banished from the pulpits of the Establishment, has been cultivated with success almost exclusively by Dissenting teachers. Yet, because they derive their support from their flocks, not from the State, and their commission from the orders of the Divine Master to whose service they have devoted themselves, not from a fictitious pedigree, they are to be treated with scorn by the priests of the hierarchy.'

'The Ministers of Christ's Gospel among the Dissenters willingly relinquish to the priests of the Established hierarchy a sacerdotal title foreign from the institutions and spirit of Christianity, as well as the corporate title of parson, and the obsolete distinction of clerk; they decline to style themselves spiritual persons, nor do they rank orders among their sacraments. But a definition may possibly be found, without a stretch of invention or of charity, that shall at once comprehend and distinguish, without offence to other denominations, the regularly appointed teachers of religion who, from year to year, labour among the people recognizing them as their ministers, and by whom they are deemed not unworthy of their hire.'

'If the spirit of Dissenterism were manifesting itself merely in an attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty, invaluable as those principles are justly deemed;—if Dissenters were found expending all their energies in polemical warfare, or in the pursuit of political objects, however honourable;—then, indeed, although their claims would not be less just, their conduct might be liable to the imputation of being prompted by secular aims and sordid motives. But the spirit which revolts against Ecclesiastical Establishments at home, is the same spirit that has gone forth with all the winds of heaven, to plant the standard of the Cross on every shore, and to make the "saving health" of Revelation "known unto all nations." The spirit which has given birth to and which sustains Dissenting institutions, is identical with the Missionary Spirit which is the glorious phenomenon of the age.'

'Before the rulers to whom Divine Providence has consigned the destinies of the teeming millions of India had decided that it was safe or expedient to divulge to their heathen subjects the dangerous secret of Christianity, a small band of self-denying Missionaries had planted themselves, under the protection of a foreign monarch, on the polluted shores of the Ganges, and had commenced those Biblical translations which have excited the astonishment of all the oriental scholars of Europe. To Dissenting Missionaries, India is indebted for the first translation of the Holy Scriptures into her sacred language, as well as for subsequent versions into her vernacular dialects. Two distinct translations of the Bible into the enigmatic language of China have, by collation, afforded one more perfect than either, which may be re-



garded as one of the most extraordinary achievements in oriental literature. The members of the Episcopal Church have since been roused to similar enterprises, and have sent forth Missionaries whose fervent piety and zeal Protestant Dissenters have been forward to acknowledge; but upon these spontaneous exertions, though originating within the pale of the Church, the rulers of the Establishment have for the most part frowned, or looked with coldness and suspicion. Attempts have been made, under the influence of that sectarian bigotry which is fostered by exclusive privileges, to chase the Missionary from the scene of his labours, or at least to fetter his exertions, to misrepresent his proceedings, and to supplant him by an exportation of episcopacy.'

'These circumstances have served only to deepen, in the minds of Dissenters, a conviction of the value of the principles upon which they take their stand, as those which alone can secure the free propagation of the Gospel, and the final triumph of the kingdom of Christ. The equality which they claim for their ministers at home, they feel to be still more important in the case of those who have gone forth to labour in the distant provinces of the British empire. There, the interference of a State Establishment cannot fail to be productive of evils incalculable, by sowing division and jealousy among a small and feeble band of Christian soldiers, in the face of the adverse millions of the kingdom of darkness. Pledged to this great enterprise, Dissenters, therefore, can never recede an inch from their claims, which involve interests far more sacred than their political rights. Regarding the principles and policy of Ecclesiastical Establishments as necessarily at variance with those of Missionary operations, they must abandon the latter before they can be reconciled to the former. In the prosecution of these sacred engagements, they can have no sinister, no sectarian views. Their object is, to propagate the common faith of the Church of Christ. Nor do their agents find any obstruction to a cordial co-operation on the part of Protestant missionaries of every communion and of every nation, with the single exception of the Established Church of their own country. By the Episcopal clergy alone, are their ministers stigmatized as irregular, and condemned as schismatics. It is this anti-catholic spirit generated by an Establishment, that, in the eyes of pious Dissenters, stamps it with the broad marks of an anti-Christian institution. James the Second was sarcastically derided by his most Christian brother of France, for sacrificing three kingdoms for an old mass book. And are there, in the nineteenth century, men who would hazard the interests of the kingdom of Christ, for the sake of a prayer-book and a mitre?' pp. 23—46.

These extracts will speak more for the Pamphlet than any commendation of ours. It does not need praise. We shall be much surprised, nay, disappointed, if the subject does not obtain for it an extensive and immediate circulation.

Art. V. *The Mysteries of Time ; or Banwell Cave.* A Poem. In six Cantos. 8vo. pp. viii. 199. Price 8s. 6d. London, 1833.

**T**HIS is a mysterious and imposing title, which seems to promise nothing short of a metrical legend full of romantic adventure,—a cave of bandits, of course, and a plot of mystery, of which Time effects the denouement. It would serve exceedingly well for the title of a new melo-dramatic spectacle. And the volume opens with an Introduction which commences much in the style of a tale by the Author of *Waverley*.

‘ Banwell Cave, or, rather, the Banwell Caves, for there are two in number, are situated in Somersetshire, at the western extremity of Banwell Hill, a lofty eminence that rises immediately above the beautiful and picturesque village of the same name, and overlooks the waters of the Bristol Channel. From the summit of this hill, the prospect is most extensive, and commands an expanse of scenery peculiarly interesting and varied. Hill and dale, heath and woodland, with hamlets and villages interspersed, mingle around in harmonious confusion ; while the dark masses of the Mendip chain on the one side, the ocean and the dim line of mountains beyond the Severn on the other, present a magnificent termination to the whole. Indeed, the universal air of peacefulness that breathes around,—the far-spread and luxuriant valley at the foot of the hill, entirely covered with gardens, orchards, and well cultivated enclosures,—the quiet and repose of the numerous villages in the distance, with their modest spires gleaming through the trees, as half secluded from the noise and tumult of every day life, but still pointing to Heaven,—all these, and a thousand other pleasing associations, cannot fail to recall to the mind’——

If we finish the sentence, we shall break the charm. We defy the ingenuity of conjecture to anticipate what follows. What can all these objects recall, but dreams of Arcadian delight, the pleasures of memory, or the tales of the poet ? Who can suppose that such a scene would recall to the mind of any one ideas of an opposite character,—the inconceivable contrast that must have been presented by ‘ the desolate aspect of that same region, ‘ when man as yet had not found a dwelling within its precincts, ‘ but the wild beasts of the forest were its sole inhabitants’ !! But the reader is not yet in possession of the key to these associations, apparently so unnatural. He is not aware that, standing on the spot described, he has in immediate view an antediluvian cavern ! To continue the description,—

‘ Both caverns, as great natural curiosities, are highly interesting ; but to the smaller one, as being possessed of the remains of a former world, having afforded a common sepulchre to numerous tribes of animals, many of which have long since disappeared from our island, and some even from the face of creation,—a more serious attention is due.



This cavern was accidentally discovered, about ten years ago, in an attempt that was made to improve the access to the larger one: it was then choked up with an accumulation of sand, mud, and fragments of rock; and all these were intermingled with an innumerable quantity of bones. The loose stones and rubble have been since cleared away, and the bones piled up around the natural walls of the cavern in such a manner, that its present appearance resembles that of a huge and ancient charnel-house.'

On entering this mountainous recess, the first question that suggests itself, the Writer proceeds to remark, is, 'How come these bones here?' The solution of this question involves us in the deep problems of geology. 'Are they the remains of animals who occupied it in their life-time as their den, and afterwards returned thither to die at home and with their kindred? Or are they the remains of animals who inhabited distant shores, and whose carcasses, after weltering for a while on the waves of the ocean, were finally deposited here by the waters of the Deluge?' The Writer embraces the former as the more probable solution. It is difficult, he remarks, to account for the cave's being so completely choked up, except by some violent incursions of the sea; and its elevated position 'would seem most distinctly to deny that any deluge less than that described in Holy Writ could have reached so inaccessible a summit.'

The reader will perceive that this is no tale of romance; and his ideas will, perhaps, undergo a transition somewhat analogous to the effect of passing from a sunny landscape to the cold gloom of a cavern. He may now be anticipating a long geological dissertation, and not feel inclined to pursue any further our account of the volume. We hasten, therefore, to inform him, that Barnwell Cave is but the fountain-head of a copious volume of verse; which soon escaping from its birth-place, flows on through six cantos, till it reaches the point at which the mysteries of time and the poem terminate together. The Author states, that, having occasion to visit the cave a few summers since, he felt himself roused by the contemplation of so many wonders round him, and penned a few stanzas which, from time to time, insensibly increased until they at length attained their present magnitude. Of a poem originating under such circumstances, and for the most part of a didactic character, the argument must of course be too desultory and multifarious to admit of analysis. The first canto is chiefly occupied with reflections relating to the Deluge: and we shall transcribe a few stanzas as a specimen of the construction and execution of the poem.

'And wilder than the wild floods headlong dashed  
Beyond the written limit of the land;

Glar'd the red lightnings as their splendours flash'd  
 A farewell ray upon that fatal strand :  
 The earthquakes bellowed and the mountains crashed,  
 Reeling with deep convulsions,—while the wand  
 Of Desolation, above all o'erspread,  
 Shook the dim, baseless globe, and mocked its glories fled.

‘ And then was finished that tremendous doom  
 Whose stroke was so almighty. In the mirth  
 And joy of all her creatures, in the bloom  
 And flower of her first loveliness, the Earth  
 Was turned unto destruction ; the bright womb  
 Of being shut abortive, and the birth  
 Of all that beautified her sight before,  
 Gone to the lone dark tomb, to rise and smile no more.

‘ And wide then o'er the earth with chilling power  
 There came a gloom so awful and profound,  
 Not Polar deserts, in their darkest hour,  
 E'er felt such horror as the heaving ground  
 Of waters at that moment, when the lower  
 Of triple tempests seem'd all spread around,  
 As Heaven in wrath would utterly erase  
 The world, and blot its ruins from the realms of space.’

We do not think that the Author has been judicious in his choice of a stanza, which, though a beautiful one, is almost identified with serio-comic poetry, and requires very skilful management, such as only long practice united to great pains could enable a writer to maintain through a long poem. It affords too much room for a single thought, so that there is great danger that some of the lines should be mere make-weight. Besides which, the ingenuity of rhyme, which is pleasing in a burlesque poem, assumes a trivial and unpleasing prominence when the sentiment is grave and important. We cannot say that the Author has succeeded in triumphing over the self-imposed difficulties of his versification. We are continually made to feel that the stanza has a supernumerary couplet that makes it drag on heavily ;—like a bird with three legs, which can use only two and has to carry the third. Moreover, a diffuseness of style is the inevitable result, and the Author is not, apparently, an adept in that branch of the art of poetry which is more difficult than skill in versification,—the art of blotting. Several of the stanzas of this first canto, we should have cancelled ; and some of them have an obscurity which we cannot penetrate. We pass on, however, to the next. ‘ The visible world being now destroyed, the ‘invisible world is brought before the imagination.’ Here the Author soars beyond the flaming bounds of air and space, with Miltonic presumption ; but to imitate that glorious offender is to fail. We cannot reconcile ourselves to ascribing words to the



Eternal; and on the general grounds stated in a recent article on Christian Epics\*, we must object against a considerable part of this canto, although the design is unexceptionable, and a pious feeling is evinced throughout. Our objection is one of religious taste. Towards the close of the canto, the Poet reverts to his original theme,—the evidence which the earth contains of its former destruction in the remains of antediluvian animals; and we again catch sight of Barnwell Cave.

- ‘ And does not Earth, too, treasure in her womb  
Remembrance of her ruin—and the wrath  
Of him who wrought her sufferings—in the doom  
Of myriads, whom no fire from heaven did scathe,  
But quench’d in like destruction—in the gloom  
That scar’d the wild beasts from their forest path,  
And drove them, howling, to their Mother’s breast,  
Where yet they slumber still—and holy be their rest.
- ‘ Enough—we have beheld them—and they speak  
With accents louder than the Egyptian’s lore,  
“ We have been, but we are not ”—Rocks shall break,  
The Mountains be forgotten—Ocean roar  
His mightiest, and the Earth for terror shake;  
But there be things upon the rifted shore  
The hungry sea will gorge not—and the Cave  
Of Death doth guard them well from the impetuous wave.
- ‘ And ever and anon, the bursting tide  
Rolls long and heavy on the troubled strand,  
The tall cliffs tremble for their ancient pride,  
The thundering Deep repeats the dire command,  
And down the big rocks tumble. Hence aside  
Vain Sceptist! and behold, as from the wand  
Of some Magician, monsters start to life,  
Tho’ cold their aspect now, and who shall wake their strife?
- ‘ This is the Treasury of Nature!—these,  
The archives of her greatness!—on this stone  
The Almighty hath enrolled his high decrees,  
And everlasting judgments!—not a bone  
That moulders, where the rock-born waters freeze,  
But from its solitary ruin’d throne,  
Utters a voice that e’en the cold rock hears,  
And piteous doth repay with sympathetic tears.’

pp. 43, 4.

That is, *stalactitic* tears; and the dazzling conceit is pursued through another stanza, but turns out to be a will o’ the wisp.

Canto the third is ‘ a lament over the past,’ and over the false glory pursued by the world’s heroes. The following stanzas will,

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\* See p.    of this volume.

if we mistake not, please the reader better than the preceding specimens, shewing that the poem improves as it proceeds.

- ‘ And there the Cæsars held imperial sway,  
The lords of nations that they never knew ;  
They gave their voice—to hear was to obey,  
And forth to victory their eagles flew.  
All kingdoms bow’d beneath them—for a day  
They deem’d themselves immortal—till Earth grew  
Pale, as she watch’d their spirits wrathful lower,  
And trembled at th’ abominations of their power.
- ‘ But they are gone—like shadows of the night—  
Phantoms, once vanish’d, that return no more ;  
The dream of things that have been—where’s the might  
That knew no rival, and the crowns they wore ?  
Th’ Imperial Purple mocks not now the light,  
Their palaces are crumbling on the shore,  
The stranger’s foot is on the Capitol,  
Nor through their marble streets doth golden Tyber roll.
- ‘ But, like a stream that hath forgot its course,  
Flows sad and silent through the dreary waste,  
Monarch of Rivers ! hast thou lost thy source,  
Or dost thou stagnate at remembrance past ?  
How oft thy glad waves rang with echoes hoarse,  
When wealth was on thine ample bosom cast ;  
Or danc’d around the tall ship’s glittering prow,  
The bright sun o’er thy head, and all storms hush’d below !
- ‘ But Fortune since a different blast hath blown,  
And scatter’d whirlwinds with exulting hate,  
Time too his mightiest trophies hath o’erthrown,  
And left the Roman’s glory desolate !  
Lo ! where yon crush’d arch mourns the mouldering stone,  
Too proudly conscious of its fallen fate ;  
A thousand years have o’er those ruins shone—  
A thousand years unborn shall find them not unknown.’

pp. 58, 59.

We have corrected the obvious, but most provoking misprint in the penultimate line of the second stanza, which would make roll echo to Capital. The Poet would certainly obtain a verdict against the printer for damages in this instance. In the ensuing canto, the historical review is resumed ; we must not say continued, because it goes back to Babylon, Tyre, and Egypt. To the latter, indeed, is ascribed an antemundane glory, —Egypt

‘ Who was an empire when the world begun.’

We are not aware that the discoveries of Champollion carry back the annals of Egypt quite so far. Canto the fifth is devoted to a



particular theme,—‘ England, her greatness and majesty among  
‘ the modern nations of the earth.’ It would be injustice to  
withhold the stanzas in which the Author has given vent to the  
ardour of his patriotism.

- ‘ For Ocean is thy bulwark—and thy Power  
Is o’er the far dominion of the deep !  
And whether hurricanes around thee lower,  
Or fondling breakers round thy footstool creep,  
Thou, from thine height of rocks, as from a tower,  
Dost mark alike the surges swell, or sleep,  
Heedless alike dost hear the tempest rave,  
Or sink with fitful ire into his Ocean grave !’
- ‘ Nor less for thee hath Nature done her part,  
Nature—Earth’s earliest minister from heaven,  
How hath she blest thee in the fulness of her heart !  
How all good things unto her lov’d one given !  
Thou hast no joy that life doth not impart,  
Thine the glad song of morn ! thine the rich hues of ev’n !  
E’en Twilight self doth holier come to thee,  
Land of the brave and good ! land of sweet liberty !
- ‘ And ah ! how beautiful thy vales expand !  
With field, copse, hamlet, all besprinkl’d o’er,  
Where Peace strews blessings with benignant hand,  
And Ceres revels in her golden store !  
Thy cities rise, the beacons of the land,  
Thy ports, thy harbours, well defend the shore,  
For thee the Isles their spicy treasures bring,  
For thee, their Ocean Queen—the green-hair’d Mermaids sing !
- ‘ Stern, dark, majestic, lo ! thy mountains rise,  
Not coldly proud—nor desolately bare,  
But cloth’d with living forests to the skies,  
Whose oaks swing blackening in the midway air,  
And there full many a Giant greets the eyes,  
That nurs’d in storm and thunder yet shall bear  
Britannia’s thunders on the stormier deep,  
And battle with the floods while round them tempests sweep.
- ‘ And who hath children, Albion ! like to thee ?  
So fair in feature, yet so firm in soul ;  
So brave, so proud, so gentle, yet so free.  
Whose passions with such generous fervor roll,  
Their very foes forget hostility.  
Go, roam the furthest India to the Pole,  
And who that Friend so true above the rest ?  
He boasts the northern clime—he bears a Briton’s crest.’  
pp. 106—8.

The last canto is occupied with desultory reflections of a pious

character, concluding with anticipations of the Redeemer's second Advent.

Some of the happiest and most striking stanzas in the whole poem are contained in this canto; but here, where the Author displays most poetic vigour, he discovers most the incorrectness of an immature taste; and, from the very sacredness and sublimity of the theme, minor faults become more prominent. Speaking, of course, without any personal knowledge, we take for granted that this poem is the first production of a young aspirant; and, if he lives, as we hope he will, to execute better things, he will thank us for criticisms which may now seem fastidious or severe. If he is satisfied with his present performance, we can have no hope of him: the flatteries of his friends will then compensate for the niggard praises of reviewers. But mental indolence alone will prevent his attaining to higher excellence, if he will sedulously cultivate his powers. Such at least is our opinion, or we should not have bestowed so much attention upon the volume. Some persons will be disposed to think that the piety of the sentiments ought to secure a more indulgent criticism; but this is a principle we cannot admit. The best themes are worthy of the best pains. We shall, however, allow the Author the benefit of an appeal from our qualified praise, to the feelings of the devout reader, in the following stanzas.

‘ He comes—he comes—but not as once he came,  
The humble messenger of peace to earth,  
Sprung from a parentage unknown to fame,  
And Shepherds only watch’d around his birth.  
Not as that wanderer, who did once exclaim—  
To him denied the blessings of a hearth—  
“ The foxes have their holes—the birds their nests,  
But I have not one place, my weary head to rest.”

‘ He comes—he comes—but not as once he came,  
The man of sorrows, that were all his own,  
No tongue to bless him on his path of shame,  
Or soothe the anguish of his spirit’s groan.  
The scoff’d, the scourged Jesus—’tis the same,  
Who wept, and wander’d on the mountains lone,  
And made the desert conscious of his prayer,  
When none save He alone, when none save God was there !’

‘ He comes—he comes upon the clouds of heaven,  
With storm, and whirlwind, and consuming fire,  
By living Thunder is his chariot driven,  
And Tempests are the heralds of his ire.’

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‘ And every eye shall see him—even they  
 Who pierc’d him—every living tongue confess  
 The brightness of his coming, and th’ array  
 Of Seraphs, and of Saints in righteousness  
 Made perfect through his suffering—all obey  
 Him, whom the Father honors and doth bless,  
 And every knee bow down to, and adore,  
 Him who doth live and reign a King for evermore !’

pp. 157—161.

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- Art. VI. 1. *The Necessity of Religion to the Well-being of a Nation :* a Sermon preached at the Rev. Dr. Bennett’s Chapel, Silver-street, London, on Feb. 6, 1834, before the Monthly Association of Congregational Churches and Pastors ; With an Appendix on the Subjects at present agitated between Churchmen and Dissenters. By John Pye Smith, D.D. 8vo., pp. 46. Price 1s. London, 1834.
2. *Political Christianity.* State Patronage and Government Support, in National Establishments of Religion, not only ineffective as a means of Propagating Divine Truth, but pernicious to the Nation, and obstructive to the progress of Scriptural Religion : illustrated in the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Educational Statistics of Ireland. 8vo., pp. 136. London, 1834.
3. *The Might and Mastery of the Established Church laid down.* A Review and Refutation of the principal Arguments of the Rev. Drs. Inglis and Chalmers, in Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments. By various Voluntary Assistants. 8vo. pp. 93. Edinburgh, 1834.
4. *A Reply to the Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments, by the late Rev. John Inglis, D.D., one of the Ministers of Edinburgh :* in a Series of Letters. By Andrew Marshall. 8vo., pp. 372. Price 6s. Glasgow, 1834.
5. *The Moral and Spiritual Influence of the Church of England.* (Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge, No. 51.) 12mo. Price 6d. London, 1834.
6. *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, Premier,* containing a Vindication of the Established Church, and Remarks on the Claims of the Dissenters. By a Dissenting Minister. 8vo., pp. 39. Price 1s. 6d. London, 1834.
7. *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, on the subject of Church Rates.* By George D’Oyly, D.D., Rector of Lambeth. 8vo., pp. 23. London, 1834.
8. *An Answer to a Letter addressed to the Lord Chancellor, on the*

*Case of the Dissenters.* In a Letter to the same. By a Clergyman. 8vo., pp. 139. Price 5s. London, 1834.

THE revolution which has taken place in the public mind within the last few years, nay, within the last few months, upon the subjects to which these publications relate, is unexampled in its suddenness and rapidity. Those who, only a short time back, found themselves stemming a tide of prejudice and unpopularity, against which they seemed to make no way, are, by this sudden turn of opinion, carried forward with a rapidity which surprises themselves. Those who were foremost in the polemic fight, now overtaken by a whole army of voluntaries, are reproached for caution and that most hated of all virtues, moderation. The controversy of two centuries between the Church of the Aristocracy and the Church of the people, is at length brought to a fair issue in open court; and the prosecutor finds himself, to his utter indignation, arraigned as a defendant. We call that the Church of the people—and challenge any opponent to convict us of impropriety—which the people have provided for themselves, which they shew that they prefer by voluntarily supporting it, and to the doctrines of which they adhere, from conviction, without either the compulsion of statutes, or the bribery of secular advantages. This would deserve to be called the Church of the people, whether it comprised a larger or a smaller portion of the nation within its communion. But when it is found that, of those who frequent any place of worship whatever, the majority are found worshipping in the chapels of Protestant Dissent, the claim to that designation becomes still more undeniable. We call that the Church of the Aristocracy, which is a political institution framed altogether upon aristocratical principles, governed by barons spiritual, allied by blood or interest to the nobility, subjected, by the system of patronage, to the power and will of the aristocracy, a co-partner with the landed interest, and looked to as a means of provision for the younger sons of the church-proprietors. These are the two systems which have now been fairly brought into contrast. It is not Episcopacy *versus* Presbyterianism or Independency; for Established Episcopacy and Established Presbyterianism are now sworn friends and dear sisters; and there is not much to choose between them. The pending debate is not creed against creed, or liturgy against an extemporaneous service, or Geneva cloaks against white surplices. The war is one of principles, not of forms;—the principle of religious freedom against spiritual usurpation,—of free labour against corporate monopoly,—of voluntary contribution against inequitable taxation for purposes foreign from the legitimate purposes of civil government.



Although it is in the shape of specific grievances that the subject comes before the Legislature, it is found impossible to discuss any one of the points to which the claims or complaints of the Dissenters relate, without its involving the fundamental principle of Ecclesiastical Establishments. This has been strikingly evinced in the recent protracted and most interesting debate in the House of Commons, occasioned by a petition from sixty-two enlightened members of the University of Cambridge, praying for the legislative abrogation of the religious tests exacted from the members before they proceed to degrees. In the speeches on both sides, the very principle of the Church monopoly was brought out into discussion. In the same manner, the perpetuation of the grievance of the Church-rate is stoutly contended for, because to abolish it would be to give up the very principle of an Establishment. Thus, we find Dr. D'Oyly alleging the following reasons why 'it would be very unsuitable 'and unwise to make such a concession.'

'In the first place, I apprehend that a great mistake is generally made in judging of the principle on which the legislature has proceeded, when it has provided for the maintenance of an established religion, and of the means of public worship, from the public resources of the community. The legislature has so provided, for the great purpose of making the nation a religious nation; of upholding that influence, on which the happiness of individuals and the good order of states so largely depend; namely, the influence of Christian principles on the minds of the community at large. It has judged, and the judgment is rightly formed on a knowledge of the human heart, and the experience of all ages, that, if the maintenance of religious worship be left entirely to the voluntary efforts of individuals, a decay of religious feeling will be the certain consequence. Many districts will be left wholly destitute of all public ministrations; religion will entirely become matter of private speculation; the wildest opinions will be propagated for the purpose of pandering to the taste, and exciting the passions of individuals; and the poor will be deprived of all the consolations of religion, unless it should chance that they are supplied by private zeal in each immediate neighbourhood. Thus then, when a person, not a member of the Established Church, complains that, in paying his contribution to the Church, he pays for that from which he derives no benefit, he proceeds on a false and erroneous view of the subject. In contributing to the support of the Established Church, he contributes to the general sustentation of religious and moral feeling in the nation at large; and from this he derives his share of the common advantage, in the improved habits and dispositions of the great mass of the people.' *D'Oyly*, pp. 10-12.

The reverend Writer proceeds to state his belief, that 'many 'of the more sincere and respectable Dissenters see the question 'entirely in this light.' It is a pity that he had not referred us to some of the writings of the Dissenters, or to some public ex-

pressions of opinion on the part of sincere and respectable Dissenters, which might have shewn this belief to be not wholly gratuitous. Dissenters may 'feel the value even to themselves of 'the Established Church with which they do not communicate', without feeling the value of its being an Established Church. Dissenters of the Congregational denomination 'feel the value 'even to themselves' of the exertions of the Wesleyan Methodists; without whose exertions 'many districts would be left 'wholly destitute of all public ministrations', and 'the poor 'would be deprived of the consolations of religion', in spite of the existence of an Establishment; and yet, they would not be pleased to see Wesleyanism established or endowed by the State, or to be compelled to pay either church-rate or land-tax towards its maintenance. But Dr. D'Oyly is aware that his argument, if good for any thing as enforcing the payment of a church-rate, fails altogether as a reason for restricting the proceeds to the support of Episcopal Churches. He adverts to the plan which has been proposed, to require all persons to pay a contribution to a church-rate, but to leave it optional with them, whether their payment should be made to the Established Church or to any particular Dissenting chapel. 'This plan would certainly', he says, 'have one advantage; that of maintaining the great principle of requiring every person to contribute to the support of 'at least some public profession of religion in the State. But 'still it would be found, in *practice*, liable to most serious difficulties and objections.' The *most* serious difficulty, however, would not be found 'in practice', but in the principle; and Dr. D'Oyly seems to be of this opinion, since he adds: 'In the first 'place, it would seem to imply an acknowledgement that all religious professions deserve to be placed on an equal footing of 'support from the State, and that every new sect, however its 'tenets may be grounded in the wildest enthusiasm or the lowest 'ignorance, is still entitled to some share of public support.' We submit that this is not a practical difficulty, but wholly a speculative one; and the acknowledgement which he deprecates, is what the whole country is becoming prepared to embrace as the only sound political doctrine. All religious professions *have* an equitable claim to be placed on an equal footing of protection from the State, and, if support be necessary and expedient, of support also; unless such professions can be shewn to be detrimental to the State. This is the very principle for which we, as Dissenters, contend. We deny that the Episcopal Church deserves, on any ground, to be placed on a higher footing in England, or the Presbyterian Church to be placed on a higher footing in Scotland, or the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, or the Hindoo Church in the South of India, than any other religious profession, *in the eye of the State*. We do not concede that the



State is a proper judge of what religious profession is best deserving of support. Rulers and legislators are very apt to make great mistakes in these matters. Dissenters regard Protestant Christianity as 'the blessed accident' (to use Coleridge's phrase) of the Established Church of this country; but they do not regard its being established by State patronage as a blessed accident to the Church, but, on the contrary, as a hurtful one. Dissenters maintain, in their practice, the great principle of requiring every person to contribute to the support of some public profession of religion; but they think that this is a moral, not a political obligation; to be enforced by the authority of Scripture, not by compulsory statutes. Forced contributions for the support of Religion, Religion herself abhors; and to tax irreligious men for the maintenance of public worship, infidels for the support of Christian ordinances, Papists for the building of Protestant churches, or Quakers for the support of a hierarchy, is to dishonour and discredit Christianity, and, to say the least, is a blunder in legislation.

In the Number of the Quarterly Review just published, there is an article on the Life of Adam Clarke, in which the question of the Alliance between Church and State is introduced; and an attempt is made to shew, that neither Tithes nor Church Rates involve any grievance to the Dissenter. Not Tithes, because they 'are a rent-charge upon land; and of the land-owners, not 'one in a hundred is a Dissenter.' To which assertion we reply, that tithes are *not* a rent-charge upon land,—that they are not levied upon land, but upon industry, as well as upon houses, &c., and that Dissenting land-owners, as well as Dissenting land-occupiers, are more numerous than the Reviewer thinks. But then Church Rates,—the Reviewer proceeds: 'Is there not a hardship here, that men should be made to contribute to the maintenance of a fabric which they never enter? No greater hardship than a thousand others which a state of society involves. Individuals are constantly compelled to support institutions in which they have no direct interest themselves, but which the public good is understood to require. We pay our quota to the county rate, for the erection of a mad-house which we shall never occupy, or of a bridge which we shall never pass; we are taxed for the maintenance of the soldier, though we have serious scruples as to the lawfulness of the profession of arms, or political objections to a standing army.' The Reviewer might have proved in the same manner, it is well remarked by an able Journalist \*, that the inns on the roads ought to be kept by a tax, though we never enter them, or that we ought all to pay for the support of fifty thousand fiddlers, though we may dislike music.

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\* Morning Chronicle, March 28th.

It is doubly unjust, that the Dissenter should pay for the support of a form of worship which he does not adopt, because he pays voluntarily for the support of that which he does adopt. The Churchman overlooks this in his argument; or, he thinks it a sufficient answer, to say, that the Dissenter need not pay for what he is so perverse to prefer;—that it is mere whim and bad manners in any one to reject what the State provides, and that he brings the additional expense upon himself. This style of reasoning might pass current in other days; but it will not now serve the purpose. The form of worship which the Dissenter voluntarily contributes to support, is maintained for the public good, as much as the State provision; and his voluntary contribution ought, therefore, to be a merit in the eye of the State. Instead of this, it has been viewed almost as a crime. ‘We pay our quota for the erection of a bridge which we shall never pass,’ and in which, therefore, we have no direct interest; and this the Reviewer argues, is deemed no hardship. But suppose that the bridge to which we are called to pay our quota, is of use only to the squire and a few of his tenants, and that a bridge which better serves the use of the parish has been built by voluntary subscription,—would it be no hardship to be obliged to pay for keeping the other in repair, and to pay toll, though we never used that road? Or would it lessen the grievance, to be told, that we ought to be thankful for the liberty of taking our own road, instead of being compelled to go over the squire’s bridge, to which we were now only required to contribute our quota?

It is admitted, however, that, ‘in every well regulated State, roads and bridges, mad-houses, maintenance of poor, and other matters of police, ought to be deemed of general obligation. The question is not, whether certain duties ought or ought not to be of general obligation, but *what* are the duties which are to be deemed of general obligation, and what ought to be left to individuals.’ Or, again, ‘the question is not, whether individuals may be left to themselves for certain acts, but *where the line is to be drawn*, between the duties which, for the safety and well-being of the State, must not be left to individuals, and those which may best be left to them.’

Now we are disposed to admit—although some of our keen friends in the North will be disposed to frown at the concession—that it would be extremely difficult, by any *à priori* reasoning, to draw this line with accuracy. And we would here remark by the way, that the chief difference between our way of treating the question of Ecclesiastical Establishments in the South, and that which alone passes for orthodox among the Voluntaries of the



North, turns upon this; that we argue against the expediency of establishments *à posteriori*, while they denounce their unlawfulness *à priori*: theirs is the theological, ours the practical argument. Not that we would for a moment deny the unlawfulness of the principles upon which Ecclesiastical Establishments have uniformly been founded—involving as they do the assumption of an authority to determine what is to be believed, and a right to persecute all who think otherwise: these principles we reject with abhorrence as palpably anti-christian. They enter into the objections *à posteriori* against the whole system. But we think it not quite so easy to demonstrate *à priori*, that all ecclesiastical establishments must necessarily and under all circumstances be unholy and unlawful. ‘What Christian Governments can and lawfully ‘may do to serve the Church of Christ,’ is, as Dr. Smith remarks, ‘a far-extending question.’ The *proposed* object of a State provision for the religious instruction of the people is good; and if the means were the best adapted to promote the end, it would be difficult to prove their illegitimacy. If establishments could not be shewn to have worked badly as regards the interests of religion,—to have desecrated the Church more than they ‘consecrated ‘the nation,’—small weight would attach to any objection founded on their abstract unlawfulness. Why then desert the stronger and more practical ground of argument, which admits of a direct appeal to *fact*?

On the other hand, it may be asked, why do we seem to object against calling in the aid of theological argumentation, the soundness of which we must substantially admit? Our answer is, first, that, even as managed by the acutest writers, it involves some very disputable positions, which, though they do not affect the accuracy of the main conclusions, lessen the validity of the argument\*; and secondly, that *other* questions, besides that of Establishments, are implicated in such general reasonings,—questions relating to National Education, the Sabbath, and other topics, which it is not convenient to discuss, or so easy to dispose of, in such incidental manner.

‘We admit’, says the able Writer in the Morning Chronicle

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\* That we may not be misunderstood, we will refer, as an instance, to the argument founded on John xviii. 36, in respect to which Dr. Smith has the following valuable note. ‘I doubt not the legitimacy of inferential arguments from this passage, upon the *nature* or essential constitution of the system which Our Lord established, (that it differs from civil politics on the kind of its requirements, its authority, its sanctions, and its final objects,) but the form of the expression, and the concluding article of the avowal, make it evident that he is directly speaking of the *originating principle* of his religion.’ “*Necessity of Religion*,” &c. p. 22.

already cited, 'that the question, how far the State ought to interfere, to secure the moral improvement of individuals, is a question of some delicacy. The most difficult part of the question, however, is not that which regards the grown man, but that which regards the individual in the progress of his development. Men may be sunk so low as to be unable to discern the advantages of mental cultivation. M. de Bonstetten, in an excellent volume published in French in 1815, speaking of France, observes, that it is one of the worst consequences of poverty, that it leads to the neglect of education.' But it is a remarkable fact,—this Writer terms it '*curious*',—that in England there has been *no* establishment for the communication of elementary instruction, while there is a rich establishment for the purpose of providing what men who are instructed will always provide for themselves, religious worship. 'The advocates for the union between Church and State say nothing about *this* part of the question, but they are inexhaustible on the subject of the priest-hood.' The *soi-disant* National Schools rest altogether upon the voluntary principle.

But we hasten to notice more particularly the contents of the publications before us. Dr. Pye Smith's sermon is characterized by the candour, caution, and piety which distinguish the learned Writer; and it will serve to shew that Protestant Dissenters are at all events not insensible of the necessity of religion to the well-being of a nation. It contains some sentiments which will be thought by many too strongly *conservative*, and would afford a good text for extended discussions, into which we cannot now enter.

The pamphlet entitled, in allusion to a phrase used by Dr. Chalmers, "The Might and Mastery of the Established Church laid low," is a very able and spirited production. The part taken by that very eloquent, philanthropic, and wrong-headed enemy of poor-law establishments and advocate of church establishments, is exposed with a severity to which he has justly laid himself open, and of which he has no right to complain.

'We can,' says the Writer, 'we think, fully appreciate his varied excellencies, his splendid intellectual endowments, and his great moral worth. We still remember, and wish never to forget, the admiration, and even the affection with which we regarded him at what we considered as the commencement of his Christian, and also, we may say, of his ministerial career. We know the obligations under which he has laid the whole reading public, by his powerful defence of the *out-works* of our common Christianity. We have heard with rapture, or perused with delight, his eloquent arguments for the emancipation of one class of dissenters in the United Kingdom, which, if followed out to their legitimate consequences, would lead equally to the emancipation of all the rest; nor are we ignorant of the vast improvements he



has introduced into the Theological Chair, which in our Metropolitan University he now fills with so much honour to himself, and with such great and unprecedented advantage to those who are prosecuting their studies with a view to the ministry in the Church of Scotland. But, admitting all this, we feel even the more indignant at the sentiments which he has broached in reference to Ecclesiastical Establishments, and we can hardly speak with patience of the style in which he has given them expression.

‘ Although the dispute respecting Church Establishments has become keen in this country only of late, it has already produced “the refreshing spectacle,” as he calls it, of several armed Champions of the Church, coming forth in full equipment against their enemies from their retreats, which, although “high,” have not “sheltered” them from some annoyance.

‘ Of these, however, he himself is not one. He has been abroad before, and is old in the field. In the course of his public career, he has ever and anon amused himself with an occasional spur against the ranks of dissent; and there is not a foot soldier among them who is not now perfectly familiar both with his manner of onset, and with the vast flourish of trumpets which precedes, accompanies, and follows it.

‘ One of the latest, and perhaps the most remarkable of his assaults, is the speech he delivered in the last General Assembly in support of his motion respecting Calls; a speech of great eloquence, but which met with the singular reception of rapturous applause from his Tory opponents, and a sort of silent dismay from his orthodox friends.

‘ In that speech he declaimed against the innovating spirit of the age, in the style of my Lord Eldon, and yet he concluded with ministering to that spirit by himself proposing an innovation. He warned his orthodox friends not to look for the advancement of religion to what he called mechanism, in terms which seemed to imply that he rated all systems of rule as of equal value, and yet he concluded by proposing a change in the mechanism of his own church as a good and useful thing. He spoke as if he preferred patronage to popular election, because the patron was only a single piece of corrupt matter, whereas the people were many pieces of corrupt matter, and the chances of error would be multiplied by increasing the mass of corruption; and yet he concluded by proposing to admit to the business of election both patron and people, or rather, he laid his hands upon all the pieces of corruption within his reach, and combined into one the Presbytery, the patron, and the people, attempting to cover his inconsistency under a rhetorical flourish, respecting “antagonist forces in nature,” which possibly might satisfy those of his hearers, whose minds dwelt in the clouds. Against the people he directed his most vehement abuse: they were gullible, they were factious, they followed demagogues, and headsmen of parishes, as sheep follow a leader; and yet, his chief trust for the right guidance both of patrons and of ecclesiastical assemblies in the exercise of their respective functions was in public opinion; as if public opinion were not merely the expressed will and sentiments of that very class of men chiefly, against which he had directed his uncompromising censure. Upon these and

other points the reverend gentleman took liberties with reason and common sense, which we suppose we are bound to reverence as examples of the noble daring of genius.' pp. 9—12.

'If he is not unimpeachable in his arguments, he is still less scrupulous respecting his facts. In the speech to which we have already referred, lately delivered by him in the General Assembly, he made two or three blunders, in which ignorance and art seemed to have an equal share. In disparagement of popular election, he referred that House to several examples where it had not preserved religion from degenerating.

'He mentioned the Presbyterian Dissenters of England, who had declined first into Arianism, and then into Socinianism; in total ignorance that those Churches were endowed, and that the power of election rested, not with the people, but with the trustees who held the endowments.

'He referred, again, to Presbyterianism in Ireland, which had exhibited a similar declension from orthodoxy to Arianism; concealing the fact, which, if he knew, he should have mentioned, that the Churches there are pensioned, and to that extent are anti-popular and unscriptural. The two instances in question, so far as they prove any thing, prove only this, that the members of the Church must have an influence which does not terminate with the election of the minister, and that the mere privilege of giving their votes for a preacher, is of no practical utility. The law of voluntary support must be combined with it, to make the system at once agreeable to Scripture and happy in its results. To return to the illustrations of the reverend Doctor. The third instance to which he alluded, impeached his candour more than his knowledge. It was that of the Presbyterian Dissenters in Scotland. Here, for a hundred years, orthodoxy had been united with popular election. The fact was undeniable, and therefore he commenced with admitting, that in those Churches the "form of sound words" remained. The example was therefore about to fail him, and upset his argument. In his emergency he had recourse to his invention, which readily came to his aid, and got him over the difficulty by supplying him with a calumny. It was true that in those Churches the "form of sound words remained," but it was in union with "spiritual death;" and if any fire still remained, it was "the fierce and unhallowed fire of earthly politics." Pretty words, truly, from a man whose mouth, from the time he rose till the moment he uttered them, had been emitting one continued blaze of high church politics! from a man who was standing in the representative assembly of a Church, which, for a hundred years, had been dead as a stone, and which, if it had in recent times made some small show of warmth, had assumed it mainly from a base fear of the Dissenters, who, having sheltered the religion of the country when ejected from the Establishment, had been only too prosperous; from a man who had spent some of the most active years of his life on a spot where those Dissenters have been the mainspring of every religious enterprise, and where, to have uttered the same accusation, would have required a courage which he does not possess, and would have drawn upon him the common indignation and indelible disgrace.



‘ This was, however, the first occasion, so far as known to us, on which Dr. Chalmers had ventured to express any thing like deadly hatred, or to bring a foul and most calumnious charge against his dissenting brethren. We have known him to express himself in terms of very different import. And every body knows that he was once wont to hail Dissenters as “private adventurers,” whose efforts might achieve much, in conjunction, of course, with “the might and the mastery of an Establishment.” But to be supporters of voluntary churches, is with him, it seems, a mortal offence, and those chargeable with it, though they may “retain the form of sound words,” can neither have sound heads nor sound hearts, but must, *horribile dictu*, be “spiritually dead”!’ pp. 17—19.

Adverting to Dr. Inglis’s representation, that the enemies of ecclesiastical establishments are very naturally taking advantage of the present state of the public mind, for the purpose of accomplishing the subversion of institutions which they disapprove,—this Writer remarks, that the question of ecclesiastical establishments ‘had been agitated with great keenness and with transcendent ability, long before these “enemies” could dream of “taking advantage” of any such state of the public mind.’

‘Not to speak of Milton, Howe, and Owen, of a former age; or of Archibald Hall, William Graham, and Robert Hall, of modern times,—of whose writings on the subject Dr. Inglis seems profoundly ignorant,—Conder and Ballantyne had published their celebrated works; while as yet the political “institutions” of our country, now so happily “changed or modified,” founded, as they were supposed to be, on the same principles of ancient and unerring wisdom as the ecclesiastical institutions “coeval with them,” seemed still to retain all the stability and glory for which they had been famed for ages. Even Marshall’s first publication appeared before the present Ministry had astonished and delighted the right thinking part of the community, by the proposal of those very bold, but truly wise measures of reform, which have since, to the utter amazement and horror of all conservatives in church and state, been triumphantly carried, so as now to constitute part of the law of the country. It may be added here, and will be more particularly adverted to afterwards, that the Secession Church, in both its branches, as existing at that time, had virtually settled the question of ecclesiastical establishments, in as far as *their* creed was concerned, nearly forty years before it could have entered the imagination of any man, however sanguine, that the views they then adopted, as to the magistrate’s power in the church, were at all likely to receive any countenance from such changes as have recently taken place, and are still “in the course” of occurring in the institutions, “whether civil or religious,” in our country.’

Mr. Marshall himself adverts to the same disingenuous attempt to represent the opponents of church establishments ‘as little better than a band of political agitators called into action, if not into existence, by the present ferment in our public af-

‘fairs.’ In an ‘introductory statement,’ he repels this charge with manly indignation, and traces the origin of the controversy now rife in that part of the kingdom, to the excitement produced by the Catholic Relief Bill.

‘As to our taking advantage of the present state of the public mind, for the purpose of subverting ecclesiastical establishments, the charge may, perhaps, be admitted in its full extent. With the views we entertain of the sinful nature, and the pernicious consequences of these establishments, how can we do less, and do our duty? Can we, with a good conscience, sit quietly down, and allow the temple of our God to be polluted by such foul abominations, when providence, in its kindness, is supplying means, and offering an opportunity to have them removed? You allow that our conduct is *very natural*; and we thank you for the concession. We ourselves think, that were we acting otherwise in such circumstances, our conduct would not only be *unnatural*, but disgraceful; such as we could not justify either to God, or to our fellow-men. The curse of Meroz, we conceive, would be due to us, with all the other curses pronounced in the scriptures against those who “bear them that are evil.” If, however, it be of any consequence to bring into notice the real origin of the present controversy, I must tell you what I believe the public has been told before, that the immediate motive from which it sprung, was not so much a wish to subvert the church establishments, for which the public mind was not then so ripe, but rather a wish to calm the fears of some well-meaning people, who contemplated with unnecessary alarm, the mischief that might be wrought by the religion of Rome, provided the abettors of that faith were, in common with their fellow-citizens, declared eligible to offices of civil trust. The Catholic Relief Bill was then before Parliament, the country was much agitated by means of it, and not a few of the worthiest, though certainly not the most enlightened among us, were nearly frightened out of their proprieties, as they knew only one method of guarding against popery, the ancient and approved method of penal laws. At such a crisis, it seemed a duty to call the public attention to the fact, that the only circumstance which could render a false religion formidable, was its connection with the state; its being armed with secular power; and that if all state-endowments of religion were abolished, all state-churches put down, all ecclesiastical property, which is the property of the nation, converted to civil uses, and Christianity left, as it ought to be, to support itself from its own resources—that if this most expedient and most necessary reform, which justice, and policy, and true piety required, were carried into effect, the terrors of popery would be at an end, the horns would be plucked from the seven heads of the beast, it would be reduced to a powerless and loathsome mass of superstition, which would soon fade away before the light of truth; or which, if it continued to exist, would offer no molestation to the other forms of Christianity. Sentiments of this kind, some of us thought proper at that time to make public; and we are still as firmly convinced, as we were then, that this is the true way to deal with popery, whether we wish to prevent its spreading, or whether, in case it do spread, to ren-



der it harmless. Let the monster be as fierce as it ever was—let it be as much disposed as it ever was, to obey the impulse of its savage nature, what hurt can it do when it is stript of its fangs? Pull the teeth of it, cut the claws of it, turn it at large, and if it be not inclined to lie down with the lamb or the kid, the lamb or the kid may safely enough lie down with it.

‘You, Sir, however, and your friends, at least those who have the management of our affairs, have chosen to treat the Roman Catholics upon a different plan. After giving them the most palpable proof of their own strength, and of your weakness, by the grant of emancipation, you have continued to gall them by a Protestant tithe law, and are now driving them to madness by your measures of coercion. What hopes they are cherishing, or what plans they are meditating, I have no means of knowing; but by all accounts, they are rapidly increasing, both in Ireland and in Great Britain: and should the day ever arrive that they regain the ascendancy, wo be to your church, and to all similar churches! They imagine that they have wrongs to avenge—recent wrongs, and wrongs of more ancient date. They believe firmly, and you are doing all you can to establish them in the belief, that the patrimony of the church is their patrimony; that they have been deprived of it by an act of national sacrilege, and that they are kept out of it by a race of nefarious plunderers, who, at the same time that they deserve the gibbet for their rapine, also deserve the flames for their heresy. I therefore say again, that should they ever obtain the ascendancy, it will be sad times for your church, and for the two sister establishments. That much-loved patrimony, dear as the apple of your eye, for which you are contending, *vi et armis*, will be resumed by the original proprietors; nor will they resume it in all probability, without at the same time, exacting something by way of *solatium*, for their undergoing so deep and so long-continued an injury. You may smile, perhaps, at such a supposition, yet amidst the fluctuation of human things, the event is not impossible; and should it come to be actually realized, the only resource will be, to recur, after all, to our principles. The nation will be constrained to rise, and to do itself justice, to take the patrimony both from you and your opponents, and to establish peace, by making our principles triumphant.’ *Marshall*, pp. 17—22.

In this volume, which to those acquainted with Mr. Marshall’s former writings, will need neither praise nor recommendation from us, the Author takes leave of the controversy, in a passage which we cannot resist transcribing for the beauty of the writing and the fine spirit which it breathes, as well as for the monitory instruction which it addresses to all who are engaged in polemic warfare. The death of the Rev. Dr. Inglis took place while both these Replies were passing through the press.

‘In conclusion, the Author would say, that he trusts this is the last time he shall have occasion to appear before the public in this controversy. It is a controversy of which he never was fond for its own sake; and of late, that, on the one side, it has become so ruthless and unprincipled, his liking to it has not increased. It was a sense of duty alone

that induced him to engage in it at first, and now that he considers the obligation discharged, he feels inclined to bid it adieu. It has pleased the great Disposer of events, to make the year which is just closing, the saddest to him he has ever spent, and to bring him into a practical acquaintance with the saying of Solomon, "Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop." He has written these pages solely because he conceived himself to be compelled by circumstances, not because he had any relish for the employment, and this, much more than any other cause, accounts for the lateness of their appearance. Besides, he is reminded, somewhat impressively, of the first part of his motto, that the controversy is one *opimum casibus*. The two individuals with whom he has had most to do in it—the two great leaders in the Scottish Church—that is, of the opposite factions in the church—each extolled by his own party as the first of mankind—each, like Themistocles, allowed by the other party to be second only to their chief—these two highly gifted individuals have both been snatched unexpectedly away, when the strife, in which they had mingled, was daily waxing hotter, and the eyes of their friends were fixed on them, with an intense and growing interest. To whom does the voice proclaim more loudly, "Be ye also ready," than to those who have happened, *through whatever train of circumstances*, to meet these distinguished men in the character of opponents? And, although there is, perhaps, no attitude in which a Christian could be more willing to be found of the Son of Man, than in showing a zeal for the purity of his Father's house; yet, as matters stand, there is a certain uneasiness—if it may not rather be called a certain acrimony of feeling—connected with an *open* appearance in the strife, which, to say the least, is not much conducive to one's comfort, nor much in harmony with devout and solemn thought. The Author mentions this in the way of intimating to his friends—the friends of the voluntary church cause—not that he means to desert that cause, or to feel coldly towards it, which it is impossible he can do while he feels at all—but that, whatever interest he may take in it for the future, or whatever aid he may endeavour to give it, as his circumstances or ability may permit, *no ordinary provocation* will tempt him to come forth again from that privacy in which alone he finds pleasure.' pp. vii, viii.

'Political Christianity' is the title of a pamphlet which we can now only recommend to all who wish to see the case and condition of Ireland, 'political, ecclesiastical, and educational,' fully stated in all its historical details and moral bearings. We cannot attempt to do justice to it in the present article, but shall have occasion to avail ourselves of its contents hereafter. In Ireland, the Writer remarks, 'the virtuous efficacy of an establishment has been as fairly brought to the test of experience as in any country; and the candid investigator will find the conclusions as palpable as he could desire.'

'Properly speaking, there have been none, at least but few, evangelical dissenters to interfere in the experiment, either to help or retard the operation. The Presbyterians have had their support on



a special compromise of the principle of national establishments, national faith, and national service. Here, too, the very extreme dissentients from the "*Thirty-nine Articles*" and Scottish "*Confession of Faith*," have participated in the revenues arising from the alliance of church and state. There has been a rich prelatic establishment throughout the country; and, as a willing handmaid, the Scottish church has chiefly occupied the division of Ulster, and sent out her branches into other provinces. Ireland has therefore been the scene of an experiment, both for riches and poverty, in connexion with national religion. It must interest the political philanthropist, as well as the philosophical student of church history, to be able to determine with what success the plan has been pursued, and whether it may serve as a model for other unenlightened regions of the earth. In this country, too, national resources have been profusely lavished, ostensibly for promoting education and moral improvement; while secular emoluments and literary honours have been almost exclusively conferred on the professed conformists with the legalized creed. What profit has there been to the state from all these sectarian privileges? and what advantage has religion derived from this monopoly? English Dissenters have declared their grievances, and summed up, among the chief, *their liability* to the payment of church-rates, and other ecclesiastical demands; and their *exclusion* from the privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. An illustration of the unmitigated effects of a similar system will be found in Irish history: and to all the wise men of Parliament we would say, "Judge ye." pp. 4, 5.

That our readers may have a general idea of the valuable body of information comprised in the present pamphlet, or rather volume, we subjoin the table of Contents.

'I. The Case stated. II. Disputants and Controversy. III. Irish Politics. IV. The Anglo-Hibernian Church as it is. V. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland as it is. VI. Some passages in the History of Presbyterianism in Ireland. VII. Brief Notices of Eminent Persons connected with, or calling themselves, the Independents or Congregational Churches in Ireland. VIII. Short Sketches of other and minor Sects, calling themselves Christians, in Ireland. IX. A chapter of Conclusions in Tabular form, and for sober consideration. X. *Chartered Spoliation and National Extravagance, under the guise of Educational Zeal*. XI. The beginning of a better system. XII. Education conducted by benevolent Associations for religious purposes. XIII. Education from charitable funds calculated to sustain moral character?'

The present state of the Anglo-Hibernian Church would seem to be in every respect deplorable; nor less disgraceful to those wealthy lords of the soil who have suffered their own most distinguished clergy, under their difficulties, to make humiliating application to the benevolence and compassion of English churchmen,—'aye, and English Dissenters too.'

'Individuals in Ireland have, doubtless, rendered contribution to

such a fund ; but no effort of the community, no liberality of the flock, no return of carnal things to those who have ministered in spiritual things, has marked the recent distresses of the suffering churchmen. Will the lovers of a national establishment never open their eyes ? Is not the workman worthy of his hire ? “ Who goeth a warfare at his own charges ; who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof ? ” Shall we conclude that the church establishment is no soil for a vineyard ? Shall we say that legalized episcopacy is no generous warfare, and that the workmen of the Church of England do not carry their labour to an open market ?

Some scenes have indeed been exhibited, of a most anomalous character, in recent struggles. If we were to read, in the Acts of the Apostles, that for three whole months Silas or Timotheus remained at Ephesus, or at Corinth, endeavouring to perform the service, the military daily under arms, prepared to be called out for his protection, while upon “ the reading desk, beside the prayer-books, a pair of loaded pistols ” lay ready for use, during the hours appointed for devotion, we should find something like a precedent for the precautionary measures deemed necessary for protecting the clergy of the established church in certain parts of Ireland which could be named, not long ago. If, again, we should read that Titus, “ the son of the Very Reverend the Dean of L—,” had received the appointment, first of a Curacy, then of a Living, under the auspices of his father, in Crete ; that he found the tithes not well paid, but had, with a determination to enforce them, taken very summary measures, under the advice of Paul, the Archbishop of that Province,—that, in consequence, he could not go through any of the villages except accompanied by a *posse comitatus* of prætorian police, armed and mounted,—that he protected his house by loaded fire-arms in every room,—that the door of his green-house, leading into his parlour or drawing-room, was secured by spring bolts, concealed behind sliding bricks in the wall,—and that in consequence of his rigour, he had received the public thanks of his Arch-Diocesan, and acquired for himself the enjoyment of the next presentation, which his father, the Very Reverend the Dean, could exchange with the said Bishop,—we should find apostolic authority for such measures, as, not many months since, marked the career of an aspiring ecclesiastic not a hundred miles out of the county of Kildare, or fifty miles from the city of Dublin.

During the month of April, yearly, there is a gathering together of the clergy interested in benevolent and religious institutions, and who thereby acquire a supposed title to the designation “ evangelical.” Within the last thirty years this class has greatly increased, compared with their numbers before that period. Perhaps in all the country they may amount to four hundred such clergymen ; the greater proportion consists of young men, and few of them have attained to any rank higher than Curates ; there are two or three Deans, and two or three Archdeacons, a few beneficed clergy, an Archbishop, and four or five of the Fellows of T. C. D. The evangelical doctrines are professedly held, but not very clearly understood, and very defectively expounded, by most of these men. We would except a Singer and an O’Brien, a Roe and a Lloyd. Many of them are ultra-millennarians.



and not a few of them have drunk deeply into the spirit of *The Morning Watch*, and even the fanaticism of Irving, concerning the person of Christ, the doctrines of redemption, and the personal reign. There is not much vigour of intellect, or depth of theological learning, or very extensive erudition among them, nor does their ministration seem calculated to enlarge the minds of their hearers, to elevate the tone of religious sentiments, or liberalize the affections of the people towards those who differ from them in politics or religion. While it is a fact, that the most independent and useful ministers of that church have found a refuge and a resting-place in institutional chaplaincies, and these independently of episcopal patronage.

‘The character of the church laity, apart from politics or the establishment, is exhibited in profusion, benevolence, and equipage—a hospitable, light-hearted, and superficial race. The proportion of the people, adherents to the Church of England in Ireland, has decidedly decreased in the census taken from time to time. Any success that has followed evangelical effort has been reaped, not in consequence of clerical labours or parochial ministrations, but rather the result of uncanonical and interdicted exertions, or of the various apparatus independent of the law church. So apparent is the stationary or retrogressive aspect of Protestantism in the country, and so weak or unsuccessful have been the efforts for extension, that even good churchmen are not merely expressing their disappointment and chagrin, but are beginning to suspect that there exist somewhere impediments or obstructions which are to the dishonour of their system: they remember the Roman adage, *Magna est veritas et prevalebit*, but they do not perceive that the system to which they belong prevails—the triumph is all on the opposite side. Let them examine the matter more closely; perhaps they may discover something in state connexion and the control possessed by secular authority over the appointment of clerical functionaries—the world determining and providing for the church.’

pp. 41—43.

The subject of the *Regium Donum* has recently attracted, and is likely still more to attract, public attention. The ‘passage in ‘the history of Presbyterianism in Ireland,’ relating to it, will be found to contain some instructive disclosures.

‘In the commotions which convulsed Ireland towards the close of the 18th century, not a few of the Presbyterian ministers were implicated, and this occasioned great searchings of heart among the Synods—the *Regium Donum* was in danger; by it many of them had their living; others of them were doubtless excited by higher motives. However, in more recent times, the royal bounty, which had been dispensed in a sum-total yearly, and left to their own division among the ministers of the Synod, became the subject of grave consideration; and Lord Castlereagh, and the ministry under whom he acted, somewhat altered the channel in which the contribution of the State should flow to the Presbyterians. In 1803, it was determined, in order that the administration of the grant might have a check upon the clergy, (is not this the object in all State bounties bestowed upon ecclesiastical function-

aries ?) that each minister should receive, as for himself, while the gift should be granted according to the congregation ; that the disloyal ecclesiastic should be deprived by the decree of the Secretary of State, but that the Regium Donum should continue to be drawn, even where the minister was deceased, or deprived ; and the benefit of such revenue should be appropriated to a widows' fund. The congregations under the care of the Synods and Presbytery of Antrim were arranged in three classes, according to the number of families and stipend of each. Agreeably to this classification is the allowance of the ministers—some only 50*l.*, some at the higher rate of 75*l.*, and the highest 100*l.* per annum ; while the congregations add to the sum, and increase the ministers' salary, according to their respective liberality, by subscriptions or seat-rents. "It is an ill wind that blows in nobody's barn door:" these new arrangements were made the reason and pretext for imploring and obtaining increased help from the national treasury, to support "the Presbyterian Synod of Ireland," called Seceders. Their ministers are also the continued stipendiaries of the State—the hired pulpit servants of "the powers that be." Their allowances are on a smaller scale, but graduating also according to locality, and other circumstances. Their classes are 70*l.*, 50*l.*, and 40*l.* per annum. Are these the principles of their brethren of the "voluntary churches" in Scotland ?

The discussions which ended in the formation of the Presbytery of Antrim began, and were conducted with more or less ardour, between 1705 and 1724 ; and some of the most distinguished and talented of the Presbyterian ministers of Ireland, Dr. Boyse and Mr. Abernethy, were involved in the controversy. It appears that Mr. Nevin disclaimed being an Arian, yet scrupled and refused to make subscription to any human form of opinion or belief. Notwithstanding, from the general suspicion which prevailed among the Synod, from the warmth and extent of the debates, and from the fact that Arianism did raise its head among the Presbyterians, both in the north and south of Ireland, it may not be a harsh or hasty conclusion, that that form of church government, and the patronage of the State, are not sufficient to guard against heterodoxy, or the appropriation of the national bounty to propagate a system of opinions directly obnoxious to written standards, and hostile to established creeds and confessions of faith. Let the devout advocate of national establishments of religion, of state patronage, or territorial endowments for the advancement of christianity, ponder well the palpable fact, that up to this day thousands of pounds yearly are devoted to maintain in Ireland Arian and Socinian ministers, as well as some who labour neither for one creed nor another, but whose only concern is, what they shall eat, or what they shall drink, or wherewithal they shall be clothed. It is desirable that the English public should further know, what the effect is of that, which, improperly is denominated Royal Bounty, but may more correctly be designated government improvidence, parliamentary extravagance, and national robbery. At the close of the session of parliament for 1833, nearly 24,500*l.* were voted for the support of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland. By the appropriation of such grants in former years, the several bodies of Presbyterians in Ireland have been able to proceed, not merely in the mainte-



nance of existing congregations, at least of ministers for such congregations, but also to encrease their number of clerical stipendiaries throughout the country. The usual process for the consolidation of a new interest, in such parts of the country as are known to us, may be thus briefly described. A certain number of adult persons, supposed to be, or designated as heads of families residing in a vicinity, subscribe a document declaring themselves to be Presbyterians, and desiring the settlement among them, as a congregation, of a minister whom they approve of. This document is forwarded to the Presbytery, and having received the sanction of their competent ecclesiastical authorities, the congregation and minister are enrolled, having been duly organized, &c., are returned as people and minister of that communion, and become eligible to the enjoyment of *Regium Donum*. A memorial, attested by the Moderator of the Synod and their lay agent, is then presented by the minister of the congregation to the Lord Lieutenant, soliciting the bounty usually granted to the ministers of that body; and as a security for his dutiful obedience, and a proof of his acceptableness, the oath of allegiance is subscribed, and the attestation of two magistrates is added, to witness that he has duly taken the oath, and pledged his loyalty as the *quid pro quo*. Not infrequently it occurs, that persons have subscribed themselves as members of such congregation who do not feel under the moral obligation of contributing to the support of their minister, or who are well satisfied by the appropriation of a most miserable pittance, to eke out the salary of their recognised pastor; they calculate on the government allowance, and neither cherish in themselves, nor in the members of their families, any sense of individual responsibility, or the obligation to make personal effort, for the advancement of religion. The minister receives his 50*l.* or 70*l.* yearly; but the sum is inadequate for the support of a family, or for their elevation in society. Consequently, the man who should be wholly given to sacred things, and the cultivation of the religious improvement of his people, is induced to turn his thoughts to other pursuits, and to occupy his time with secular engagements. In many instances the *Regium Donum* is applied as the rent of a farm—the minister becomes a farming gentleman; or, holding from the head landlord, he sub-lets portions of his lease, at rack-rents, to the neighbouring peasantry for potatoe fields. It is not an uncommon sight, in country towns, in fairs and markets, to witness the Presbyterian minister selling his pigs, his corn, or his sheep; and, it may be, completing his bargain in the public-house, or over the whisky bottle, on a Saturday afternoon, or at other times nearly approaching to religious service. The advocates of Temperance Societies tell some strange stories regarding the north. The clerical character is lowered by such exposure; the tone of mind in the victim of such a system is vitiated; his official engagements are not distinguished by the exertion of intellect or the researches of study; and he fails to effect that good, or to command that moral and spiritual influence, which would render him a benefit to his flock. His people fail to acquire an enlarged and comprehensive benevolence, or active and vigorous minds; generous principles do not exalt them; liberality of sentiment or of charity lies beyond their attainment; and they take

no interest in diffusing the knowledge of their own religion, or the advantages of a free and enlightened constitution, in their own neighbourhoods, or among their fellow men in remoter districts. Even where a desire to do good has actuated some of them, their designs are selfish, their liberality is penurious, and their efforts are feeble or abortive. The influence of a system so replete with evil may serve to account for the inefficiency of Presbyterianism itself in Ireland; and the obstructions which other modes of doing good in the country must herein have to encounter, will sufficiently explain the cause of their slow or partial success. Let the patriotic statesman, the Christian citizen, and the philosophic and candid enquirer after truth, as also the student of ecclesiastical history, survey the sad and dreary effects of the paralyzing conjunction of church and state, in a country which requires all the energies of a vigorous and healthy christianity, and all the resources of a wise and benevolent government to redeem its population from civil discord and superstitious and ruinous priestcraft.

pp. 65—68.

These specimens will preclude the necessity of our adding a word to induce our readers to make themselves masters of the information for which the public are indebted to the writer of these pages.

We have left ourselves scarcely room to notice the other publications on our list. The Clergyman's Answer to the "Case of the Dissenters," is a prosing, feeble, repetition of refuted arguments and blundering statements; written, very probably, by a good man of the *Christian Guardian* school. The Writer thinks, that the Church cannot be justly blamed for any of its abuses, till 'the clergy assembled in convocation shall have refused to effect those reforms in their ecclesiastical polity which may be pointed out to them.' As if reforms ever had proceeded from, or were likely to originate with, convocations of clergy! He is, 'upon the whole, by no means disposed to deny that many of the Dissenting clergy are true ministers of the Church of Christ—because he believes, that Christ himself works by them to the salvation of many souls, which is *the best testimony to such a commission*, and without which regular ordination avails nothing to invest a man, with such a character, except in name, to those who cannot *know the heart*.' This is the best sentence in the pamphlet; and there is so much good sense and right feeling in it, that we are, upon the whole, by no means disposed to deny that the Writer is a well meaning, literally disposed person, but cramped and muddled by the prejudices of Episcopacy. As if he had conceded too much, he goes on to say:—'Yet, he humbly conceives, that, to say *the least*, there is an *irregularity* in their orders, in more than one respect, from which those of the Church of England are free.' When will the Protestant clergy be weaned from these Romish puerilities?



The Dissenting Minister's Letter to Earl Grey is a strange performance. We confess ourselves unable to perceive the Writer's drift, or to conjecture either his aim or his motive. By his own account, he is utterly unacquainted with the sentiments, as he has no sympathy with the feelings of the body to which he professes to belong. 'Whether the Dissenters generally approve of the course to be pursued by His Majesty's Government, as officially notified, I cannot determine. With them, the connexion between Church and State is a mere problem in theological casuistry.' These two sentences, occurring in immediate sequence, will, probably, satisfy our readers as to what class of Dissenting Ministers this Letter-writer must belong. The former sentence betrays either an utter want of information, or an affected ignorance as to matters of public notoriety: the latter is an assertion ridiculously incorrect, and which every consistent Dissenter would repudiate as a gross misrepresentation. The Writer lets us know that he is not an Independent Minister; and moreover that he does not even know the acceptation of the term. Speaking of the Dissenting community generally, this pseudo Dissenting Minister has the audacity to say:

'That which forms the first principle in their constitution, their boast and glory, in another view exhibits a most prominent feature of deformity, a source of shame and degradation; I mean, "the independency of the churches," a term that is strikingly descriptive of the torn and shattered aspect of some congregations, the enfeebled and blighted condition of others, that are left unpitied and unassisted by the stronger and wealthier to whom they claim an affinity.'

Every one who knows any thing about Independency, with its system of mutual association, its funds for the relief of poorer ministers and churches, and the amount of assistance annually afforded by the wealthy to those who claim their benevolence, will be aware that this passage is a tissue of calumny. In the next paragraph the Writer proceeds to contrast with the energy of the Americans, the 'torpidity which now, as always, distinguishes the Dissenters of this country; thus furnishing incontrovertible proof that they are incapable of any sublime and extended effort.' They may possess *means*, but they want disposition, and that is a fatal effect.' Further on, he speaks of 'the vast amount of noxious and degrading qualities exhibited in their system, if that can be called system which nothing binds, the parts of which are so many uncongenial elements that are incapable of combination.' Really, if the Writer were himself a specimen of any *class* of Dissenting Ministers, there must be some truth in this; for he has given us an exemplification of the noxious qualities and uncongenial elements existing under the

name of Dissent, but which are, after all, but the morbid accidents of the system. But, as he has well observed, 'the human mind is a monstrous anomaly.'

The Tract on 'the Moral and Spiritual Influence of the Church of England,' contains some strong assertions, and some striking remarks. The former, however, stands in need of proof, although we believe them to be for the most part in accordance with fact. For instance:

'I. Estimating the clergy at three times the number of nonconformist ministers, there should be three holy, intelligent, active, self-denying and efficient preachers in the church, for every one dissenting pastor of the like description out of it; but what is the real fact of the case? We have no hesitation in avowing our settled conviction, that there are, at least, three pious, zealous, evangelical ministers out of the establishment, for every one that is in it; and that the ministerial and pastoral labours performed by a single congregational or by a Wesleyan preacher is, on an average, equal to what is effected by three pious conforming clergymen.

'II. Supposing, also, that there may be, in England and Wales, two lay church people for every one lay dissenter, there ought, then, to be two devout, virtuous, godly, and consistent members of the establishment for every one devout, virtuous, godly, and consistent nonconformist. But this is so far from the fact, that we venture to affirm, that there are ten truly religious seceders for one truly religious churchman in the country; and that the voluntary contributions of dissenters for the extension of piety in the land, and the unpaid exertions which they make for the salvation and happiness of their fellow-creatures and countrymen, are ten times more than those made by the lay members of the hierarchy; and all this, too, in addition to the forced contributions of immense sums every year towards sustaining the walls, glory, and worship of the church of England; from which, in return, they seldom receive a shilling, and very often contempt.

'III. It is with equal advice and confidence we state our belief in the following calculations:—That where there is one Protestant Dissenter in our jails, there are one hundred Episcopalians; and that this ratio will equally apply to persons transported beyond the seas, or who forfeit their lives on the gallows. That of all the burglars, incendiaries, pickpockets, shoplifters, and the like, ninety-nine out of every hundred appertain to the prelatical communion—and that not one per cent. of the infidelity, ignorance of true religion, and hostility against it, which abound in the land, is discoverable in the ranks of dissenters. Of the thousands upon thousands of drunkards, swearers, sabbath-breakers, liars, debauchees, rakes, spendthrifts and vagabonds, which are a disgrace and curse to our country, not more than one in a hundred is a dissenter. And that of all the periodical and other publications which minister to the lusts, and promote the ruin of our youth; which instil into the minds of the ignorant and unsuspecting, notions



adverse to the doctrines of Christianity, and opposed to loyalty and patriotism ; which are laid as snares in almost every pot-house throughout the kingdom, and by which thousands are entangled and destroyed ; nearly the whole emanate from the brains, are written by the pens, and are circulated by the industry of persons who would, perhaps, knock any one down for calling them dissenters, or for questioning their allegiance to old mother church.

‘ Many orthodox members of the establishment, who can see nothing good out of the church, and nothing bad in it, will be surprised and indignant at these astounding statements, and at our temerity and wickedness in venturing them. But, alas ! we believe them to be too correct—to the dishonour of the parliamentary religion ; and, in the eyes of infidels—to the discredit of our common Christianity. The ignorance, apathy, unbelief, and impiety, of most church people, can hardly be credited, if announced through the medium of a second-hand authority. There are thousands of parishes in which can scarcely be found one truly pious episcopalian. While most who stately or occasionally attend the legal parish meeting-house, respond to its services, and kneel before its altar, seem never to imagine that they are seriously professing the Christian religion, or involving themselves in any sacred responsibilities. They no sooner leave their pews, than they totally discard all devotional expressions ; resort to scenes of indolence, folly, and vice ; argue against the doctrines, precepts, and claims of the Scriptures ; and ridicule the scruples and preciseness of dissenters.’

We cannot commend the style of the pamphlet. Such a mode of expression as ‘ God is not likely to give his especial blessings to the Church of England’, ‘ God dislikes her’, &c., putting aside the boldness of the assertions, savours of an unhallowed freedom. We do exceedingly regret to be unable to speak more favourably of the ‘ Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge.’

## ART. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Preparing for publication, A Popular Introduction to the Modern Classification of Insects, serving also as a Sequel to the "Introduction to Entomology" of the Rev. W. Kirby and W. Spence, Esq.; comprising an Account of the Habits and Transformations of the different Families; and a Synopsis of the British, and a Notice of the more remarkable Exotic Genera. Illustrated with several Hundred Figures, some of them coloured after Nature. By J. O. Westwood, F.L.S., &c.

A Series of "Lives of Celebrated Naturalists" has been a considerable time in preparation for the Edinburgh Cabinet Library. The first Volume will speedily appear, containing Lives of Eminent Zoologists, from Aristotle to Linnæus inclusive, with an Introductory View of the Study of Natural History and the Progress of Zoology. The Second Volume will be devoted to the more remarkable Writers in the same department, from Pallas, Brisson, and Buffon, down to Cuvier, and will conclude with Remarks on the present state of the Science. It is intended to offer to the Public similar Memoirs of the principal Cultivators of Botany, Mineralogy, and Geology; so that the Series will form a useful Introduction to the study of those branches of knowledge; while the biographical narratives, independently of their scientific details, will embody a fund of general information which cannot fail to prove extremely interesting to all classes of readers.

In the press, An Address to the Nobility and Landed Proprietors of Great Britain and Ireland, on the Distressed State of the Agricultural Population, and the Baneful Effects of Absenteeism; in which are displayed the Benefits arising from small Allotments of Land. By a London Merchant.

In the press, Analysis of the Defective State of Turnpike Roads and Turnpike Securities; with Suggestions for their Improvement. By Francis Philips, Esq.

In the press, Necessity of a Commutation of Tithes, and the Means of rendering the Soil of the British Islands capable of abundantly supporting twice the amount of their present Population. Addressed to the Right Hon. Viscount Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. &c. By T. A. Knight, Esq. F.R.S. and F.L.S. and President of the Horticultural Society of London.



Just ready, Parts I., II., and III., of a Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, without the Text. By Joseph Sutcliffe, A.M.

Preparing for publication early in May, the Correspondence of John Jebb, D.D., F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, with Alexander Knox, Esq. from 1799 to 1831.

Just ready, Sixteen Discourses on the Liturgical Services of the Church of England. By the Rev. Thomas Bowdler, M.A. 1 Vol. 12mo.

Dr. Croly has a volume in the press on the General Government of the World by the Deity.

Just ready for the press, Wesleyan Takings; or Sketches of Ministerial Character, containing Notices of a series of eminent Preachers, with remarks on their distinctive peculiarities and excellencies, in matter, style, and manner; the whole designed to furnish useful hints to *young ministers*.

Nearly ready, the Physiology, Pathology, and Treatment of Asphyxia: including Suspended Animation in new born Children—and from Hanging—Drowning—Wounds of the Chest—Mechanical Obstructions of the Air Passages—Respiration of Gases—Death from Cold, &c., &c. By James Phillips Kay, M.D.

## ART. VIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

## BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K.B. By his Brother, James Carrick Moore, Author of "A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army in Spain." 2 Vols. 8vo., with Portrait, 1*l.* 1*s.*

The Life and Poems of the Rev. George Crabbe. Vol. I. 5*s.*

The Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill, M.A., compiled from Authentic Documents. By the Rev. Edwin Lidney, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 8vo., with a fine Portrait, 14*s.*

## MISCELLANEOUS.

Helen. By Maria Edgeworth. 3 Vols. post 8vo.

## POLITICAL.

Influence of the Public Debt over the Prosperity of the Country. By M. B. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Observations on the China Trade, and on the importance and advantages of removing it from Canton to some other part of the coast of that Empire. By Sir James Brabazon Urmston, late President of the Hon. East India Company's Factory at China. 8vo. 3*s.*

Great Britain for the Last Forty Years; being an Historical and Analytical account of its Finances, Economy, and general Condition during that period. By Thomas Hopkins. 12mo. 6*s.*

Considerations on the Law of Libel, as

relating to Publications on the subject of Religion. By John Search. 2*s.*

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